STREET, OPPOSITE ODD FELLOWS' HALL TERMS.

Two dollars per annum, payable in advance.

Advertisements not exceeding ten lines inserted three times for one dollar; every subsequent insertion, twenty-All communications to the Era, whether on business

of the paper or for publication, should be addressed to G. BAILEY, Washington, D. C.

BUELL & BLANCHARD, PRINTERS, Sixth street, a few doors south of Pennsylvania avenue

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

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UNCLE TOM'S CABIN:

LIFE AMONG THE LOWLY.

BY MRS. H. B. STOWE. CHAPTER XLII-Continued.

My sympathies are not for my father's race,

but for my mother's. To him I was no more than a fine dog or horse; to my poor heart-broken mother I was a *child*; and, though I never saw her, after the cruel sale that sepa-wholesomer manner, in teaching the children rated us, till she died, yet I know she always loved me dearly. I know it by my own heart. When I think of all she suffered, of my own early sufferings, of the distresses and struggles of my heroic wife, of my sister, sold in the New Orleans slave-market—though I hope to have no unchristian sentiments, yet I may be excused for saying, I have no wish to pass for an American, or to identify myself with them. "It is with the oppressed, enslaved African race that I cast in my lot; and, if I wished anything, I would wish myself two shades

The desire and yearning of my soul is for an African nationality. I want a people that shall have a tangible, separate existence of its own; and where am I to look for it? Not in Hayti; for in Hayti they had nothing to start A stream cannot rise above its fountain The race that formed the character of the Haytiens was a worn-out, effeminate one; and, of course, the subject race will be centuries in

darker, rather than one lighter.

rising to anything.
"Where, then, shall I look? On the shores of Africa I see a republic—a republic formed of picked men, who, by energy and self-educating force, have in many cases, individually, raised themselves above a condition of slavery. Having gone through a preparatory stage of feebleness, this republic has, at last, become an acknowledged nation on the face of the earth acknowledged by both France and England. There it is my wish to go, and find myself a

people.
"I am aware, now, that I shall have you all against me; but, before you strike, hear me. During my stay in France, I have followed up, with intense interest, the history of my people in America. I have noted the struggle between abolitionist and colonizationist, and have received some impressions, as a distant spectator,

participator. "I grant that this Liberia may have subserved all sorts of purposes, by being played off, in the hands of our oppressors, against us. Doubt less the scheme may have been used, in unjustifiable ways, as a means of retarding our emancipation. But the question to me is, Is there not a God above all man's schemes? not have overruled their designs, and founded

for us a nation by them? "In these days, a nation is born in a day. A nation starts, now, with all the great problems of republican life and civilization wrought out to its hand; it has not to discover, but only to apply. Let us, then, all take hold together with all our might, and see what we can do with this new enterprise, and the whole splendid continent of Africa opens before us and our children. Our nation shall roll the tide of civilization and Christianity along its shores, and plant there mighty republics, that, growing with the rapidity of tropical vegetation, shall be for all coming ages.

"Do you say that I am deserting my enslaved brethren? I think not. If I forget them one hour, one moment of my life, so may God forget me! But, what can I do for them here? Can I break their chains? No, not as an individual; but let me go and form part of a nation, which shall have a voice in the counsels of nations, and then we can speak. A nation has a right to argue, remonstrate, implore, and present, the cause of its race, which an indi-

"If Europe ever becomes a grand council of free nations—as I trust in God it will—if there serfdom and all unjust and oppressive social inequalities are done away; and if they, as France and England have done, acknowledge our position, then, in the great Congress of Nations we will make our appeal, and present the cause of our enslaved and suffering race; and it cannot be that free, enlightened America will not then desire to wipe from her escutcheon that bar sinister which disgraces her among nations, and is as truly a curse to her as to the

But, you will tell me, our race have equal rights to mingle in the American Republic as the Irishman, the German, the Swede. Granted, they have. We ought to be free to meet and mingle—to rise by our individual worth, without any consideration of caste or color and they who deny us this right are false to their own professed principles of human equality. We ought, in particular, to be allowed We have more than the rights of common men-we have the claim of an injured race for reparation. But, then, I do not want it; I want a country, a nation, of my own. I think that the African race has peculiarities, yet to be unfolded in the light of civilization and Christianity, which, if not the same with those of the Anglo-Saxon, may prove to be,

morally, of even a higher type. "To the Anglo-Saxon race has been intrusted the destinies of the world, during its pioneer of the room. Mrs. Shelby followed her softly, Is it not plain, from this, that the histories of period of struggle and conflict. To that mis- and took one of her hands, drew her down into sion its stern, inflexible, energetic elements were well adapted; but, as a Christian, I look for another era to arise. On its borders I trust we stand; and the threes that now convuls the nations are, to my hope, but the birth-pangs

of an hour of universal peace and brotherhood. be essentially a Christian one. If not a domi- He healeth the broken-hearted, and bindeth been his personal attendant from a boy. The nant and commanding race, they are at least an affectionate, magnanimous, and forgiving one. Having been called in the furnace of injustice and oppression, they have need to bind beside the mourner, took her hand, and with affairs of this kind. The owner was exceedcloser to their hearts that subline doctrine of simple pathos repeated the triumphant scene ingly indignant. He had always treated the love and forgiveness, through which alone they of her husband's death, and his last messages slave with such indulgence, and his confidence are to conquer, which it is to be their mission of love.

to spread over the continent of Africa. In myself, I confess I am feeble for this; full half the blood in my veins is the hot and hasty Saxon: but I have an eloquent preacher Christianity, I go to my country—my chosen, sented, amid my glorious Africa! And to her, in my heart, all present. I sometimes apply those splendid words of

I will make thee an eternal excellence, a joy of many generations! am undertaking. But I have considered, and missis, and de rest!"

hard; to work against all sorts of difficulties and discouragements; and to work till I die. This is what I go for; and in this I am quite But, you are now free men and free women. I sure I shall not be disappointed.

and think that, in whatever I do, I act with a heart wholly given to my people.

might happen—you cannot now be taken up and sold. I expect to carry on the estate, and letter was for some time in the writer's hands. heart wholly given to my people. "George Harris."

George, with his wife, children, and sister, embarked for Africa some few weeks after. If we are not mistaken, the world will yet hear from him there.

Of our other characters we have nothing very particular to write, except a word relating to Miss Ophelia and Topsy, and a farewell chapter, which we shall dedicate to George

Miss Ophelia took Topsy home to Vermont with her, much to the surprise of that grave, deliberative body whom a New Englander recognises under the term "Our folks." "Our at first thought it an odd and unneces sary addition to their well-trained domestic establishment; but, so thoroughly efficient was

George's feelings and views, as an educated man, may be best expressed in a letter to one of his friends:

George's feelings and views, as an educated Miss Ophelia in her conscientious endeavor to do her duty by her elève, that the child rapidly grew in grace and in favor with the family f his friends:

"I feel somewhat at a loss, as to my future | ly grew in grace and in favor with the family and neighborhood. At the age of womanhood, course. True, as you have said to me, I might she was, by her own request, baptized, and be mingle in the circles of the whites, in this coun- came a member of the Christian church in the try, my shade of color is so slight, and that of place; and showed so much intelligence, activimy wife and family scarce perceptible. Well, perhaps, on sufferance, I might. But, to tell you the truth, I have no wish to.

ty, and zeal, and desire to do good in the world, that she was at last recommended and approved as a missionary to one of the stations in Africa; and we have heard that the same activity and ingenuity which, when a child, of her own country.

CHAPTER XLIII .- The Liberator.

George Shelby had written to his mother merely a line, stating the day that she might expect him home. Of the death scene of his old friend he had not the heart to write. He had tried several times, and only succeeded in half choking himself, and invariably finished by tearing up the paper, wiping his eyes, and rushing somewhere to get quiet.

There was a pleased bustle all through the

Shelby mansion that day, in expectation of the arrival of young mass'r George.

Mrs. Shelby was seated in her comfortable

parlor, where a cheerful hickory fire was dispelling the chill of the late autumn evening. A supper-table, glittering with plate and cut glass, was set out, over whose arrangements our former friend, old Chloe, was presiding.

Arrayed in a new calico dress, with clean white apron, and high, well-starched turban, her black polished face glowing with satisfac-tion, she lingered, with needless punctiliousness, around the arrangements of the table, merely as an excuse for talking a little to her mistress "Laws, now! won't it look natural to him?" she said. "Thar—I set his plate just whar he likes it—round by the fire. Mass'r George allers wants de warm seat. O, go away! why didn't Sally get out de best tea-pot-de little

from mass'r George?" she said, inquiringly. "Yes, Chloe; but only a line, just to say he would be home to-night, if he could-that's Didn't say nothin' bout my old man,

s'pose?" said Chloe, still fidgeting with the "No, he didn't. He did not speak of anything, Chloe. He said he would tell all when

he got home.23 "Jes like mass'r George—he's allers so ferce for tellin' everything hisself. I allers minded dat ar in mass'r George. Don't see, for my part, how white people gen'lly can bar to hev to write things much as they do, writin' 's such slow, oneasy kind o' work.'

Mrs. Shelby smiled.

uneasy ever since she received her son's letter, made on them is more shocking than the thing lest something should prove to be hidden behind the veil of silence which he had drawn. "Missis has got them bills?" said Chloe, anxiously "Yes, Chloe."

"Cause I want to show my old man dem very bills de perfectioner gave me. 'And,' says he, coming home, and missis-she can't do without me no longer.' There's jist what I telled exist without it. him. Berry nice man, dat mass'r Jones was."

should be preserved, to show to her husband in memorial of her capability. And Mrs. Shelby had readily consented to humor her in the of the legal counsel for the defendants in that over in silence? request.
"He won't know Polly—my old man won't. Laws, it's five years since they tuck him! She from the District of Columbia in the schooner

walk. Laws a me! The rattling of wheels now was heard.

to the window. folded in the arms of her son. Aunt Chloe

stood anxiously straining her eyes out into the darkness. O, poor, Aunt Chloe!" said George, stopping fortune to have brought him with me, but he's

gone to a better country." Mrs. Shelby, but Aunt Chloe said nothing.

When about to be sent to the same marker, and older sister went to the shambles, to plead older sister went to the shambles, to plead older sister went to the shambles, to plead money, of which Chloe was so proud, was still with the wretch who owned them, for the love

"don't never want to see nor hear on't again. do very well in this life, but what will become Jist as I knew 'twould be—sold, and murdered of them in the next?' They two were sent to

on dem ar old plantations!" a chair, and sat down by her.

heart's broke, that's all!"

up their wounds.2

the servants of the Shelby estate were convened together in the great hall that ran high anger; but, being possessed of uncommon

spirit ever restores me, and keeps before my eyes the Christian calling and mission of our taining a certificate of freedom to every one on told the Quaker that, if his slave would, to his As a Christian patriot, as a teacher of the place, which he read successively, and pretianity, I go to my country—my chosen, sented, amid the sobs and tears and shouts of he would liberate him. An interview was

'Whereas thou has been forsaken jously begging him not to send them away; any reason to complain of his treatment, in and hated, so that no man went through thee; and, with anxious faces, tendering back their

"You will call me an enthusiast—you will We's allers had all we wanted. We don't tell me that I have not well considered what I | want to leave de ole place, and mass'r and | me?'

THE NATIONAL ERA IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SEVENTH expect to work with both hands; to work you to leave me. The place wants as many hands to work it as it did before. We need the same about the house that we did before. free. shall pay you wages for your work, such as we

> to teach you what, perhaps, it will take you some time to learn—how to use the rights I give you as free men and women. I expect you to be good, and willing to learn; and I trust in God that I shall be faithful, and will-despair of our kind. But, she asks any person, ing to teach. And now, my friends, look up, and thank God for the blessing of freedom."

An aged, patriarchal negro, who had grown gray and blind on the estate, now rose, and lifting his trembling hand, said, "Let us give thanks unto the Lord!" As all kneeled by one consent, a more touching and hearty Te Deum never ascended to heaven, though borne on the peal of organ, bell, and cannon, than came from that honest old heart.

On rising, another struck up a Methodist hymn, of which the burden was, "The year of Jubilee is come

Return, ye ransomed sinners, home. "One thing more," said George, as he stopped the congratulations of the throng; "you all remember our good old Uncle Tom?"

George here gave a short narration of the scene of his death, and of his loving farewell to all on the place, and added-"It was on his grave, my friends, that I resolved, before God, that I would never ewn another slave, while it was possible to free him; that nobody, through me, should ever run the risk of being parted from home and friends, and dying on a lonely plantation, as he died. So, when you rejoice in your freedom, think that you owe it to that good old soul, and pay it back in kindness to his wife and children. Think of your freedom, every time you see UNCLE TOM'S CABIN; and let it be a memorial to put you all in mind to follow in his steps, and be as honest, and faithful, and hristian, as he was.'

CHAPTER XLIV .- Concluding Remarks. The writer has often been inquired of, by and to these inquiries she will give one general

tic, occurring many of them either under her own observation, or that of her personal friends. She or her friends have observed characters brutal and debased? And cannot the ruffian, the counterpart of almost all that are here introduced; and many of the sayings are word just as many slaves as the best and purest?

for word as heard herself, or reported to her.

The personal appearance of Eliza, the character ascribed to her, are sketches drawn from | this world? life. The incorruptible fidelity, piety, and honesty, of Uncle Tom, had more than one development to her personal knowledge. Some of the most deeply tragic and romantic, some Africa, is an inevitable attendant and result of of the most terrible incidents, have also their American slavery. And its heart-break and parallel in reality. The incident of the moth- its horrors, can they be told? er's crossing the Ohio river on the ice is a wellknown fact. The story of "old Prue," in the second volume, was an incident that fell under are, at this very moment, riving thousands of new one mass'r George got for missis, Christmas? I'll have it out! And missis has heard the personal observation of a brother of the writer, then collecting-clerk to a large mercan-driving a helpless and sensitive race to frenzy tile house, in New Orleans. From the same and despair. There are those living who know ing of visiting his plantation, on a collecting themselves seeking in death a shelter from woes tour: "He actually made me feel of his fist, more dreaded than death. Nothing of tradgewhich was like a blacksmith's hammer, or a nodule of iron, telling me that it was 'calcived, that equals the frightful reality of scenes

felt as if I had escaped from an ogre's den." possibility of being brought to justice, would it be received with equal composure? Would it 'Chloe, I wish you'd stay longer.' 'Thank be said, "These cases are rare, and no samples you mass'r,' says I, 'I would, only my old man's of general practice?' This injustice is an 'Thank be said, "These cases are rare, and no samples inherent one in the slave system-it cannot

The public and shameless sale of beautiful capture of the Pearl. We extract the followcase. He says; "In that company of seventysix persons, who attempted, in 1848, to escape member how tickled he used to be, cause she ing, there were several young and healthy highly. Elizabeth Russel was one of them. "Mass'r George!" said aunt Chloe, starting | She immediately fell into the slave-trader's were touched with pity for her fate. They about half way there, God had mercy on her, one to a better country."

and smote her with death. There were two girls named Edmundson in the same company. lying on the table.

"Thar," said she, gathering it up, and holding it with a trembling hand to her mistress, "don't never want to see nor hear on't again.

"God, to spare his victims. He bantered her, telling what fine dresses and fine furniture they would have. 'Yes,' she said, 'that may do very well in this life, but what will become of God, to spare his victims. He bantered her. New Orleans, but were afterwards redeemed.

Emmeline and Cassy may have many counterparts? "My poor, good Chloe!" said she.

Chloe leaned her head on her mistress's shoul
Tustice, too, obliges the author to state that the fairness of mind and generosity attributed der, and sobbed out, "O missis! 'scuse me, my to St. Clare are not without a parallel, as the following anecdote will show. A few years an hour of universal peace and brotherhood. "I know it," said Mrs. Shelby, as her tears since, a young Southern gentleman was in fell fast; "and I cannot heal it, but Jesus can. Cincinnati, with a favorite servant, who had young man took advantage of this opportunity There was a silence for some time, and all to secure his own freedom, and fled to the prowept together. At last, George, sitting down tection of a Quaker, who was quite noted in in his affection was such, that he believed he About a month after this, one morning, all must have been practiced upon to induce him through the house, to hear a few words from candor and fairness, was soon quieted by his of the Gospel ever by my side, in the person of my beautiful wife. When I wander, her gentler To the surprise of all, he appeared among of the subject which he never had heard forthwith procured, and Nathan was asked by Many, however, pressed around him, anx- his young master whether he had ever had any respect.

free papers.

"We don't want to be no freer than we are.

"We don't want to be no freer than we are.

"We don't want to be no freer than we are.

"Well, then, why do you want to leave

He immediately made him out free papers deposited a sum of money in the hands of the sure I shall not be disappointed.

"Whatever you may think of my determination, do not divorce me from your confidence; and think that in whatever I do. I act with a might happen—you cannot now be taken up kind letter of advice to the young man. That

The author hopes she has done justice to that nobility, generosity, and humanity, which who knows the world, are such characters common, anywhere?

For many years of her life, the author avoided all reading upon or allusion to the subject of slavery considering it as too painful to be inquired into, and one which advancing light and civilization would certainly live down. But since the legislative act of 1851, when she heard, with perfect surprise and consternation, Christian and humane people actually recommending the remanding escaped fugitives into slavery, as a duty binding on good citizens— when she heard, on all hands, from kind, compassionate, and estimable people, in the free States of the North, deliberations and discussions as to what Christian duty could be on this head—she could only think, These men and Christians cannot know what slavery is; if they did, such a question could never be open for discussion. And from this arose a desire to exhibit it in a living dramatic reality. She has endeavored to show it fairly, in its best and its worst phases. In its best aspect, she has, perhaps, been successful; but, oh! who

women of the South-you, whose virtue, and magnanmity, and purity of character, are the ed-to you is her appeal. Have you not, in orrespondents from different parts of the country, whether this narrative is a true one; and to these inquiries she will give one general and to these inquiries she will give one general and to these inquiries she will give one general and the country of the co arrative are, to a very great extent, authen- sentiment among your men of honor, justice and humanity, is there not also another kind of public sentiment among the ruffian, the

> and compassionate, the majority anywhere in this. The slave trade is now, by American law, considered as piracy. But a slave trade, as systematic as ever was carried on on the coast of

The writer has given only a faint shadow a source was derived the character of the planter | the mothers whom this accursed traffic has Legree. Of him her brother thus wrote, speak- driven to the murder of their children, and loused with knocking down niggers.' When I daily and hourly acting an our shores, beneath er in real estate; worth thirty thousand dolleft the plantation, I drew a long breath, and the shadow of American law, and the shadow of the cross of Christ.

That the tragical fate of Tom, also, has too many times had its parallel, there are living witnesses, all over our land, to testify. Let it be remembered, that in all Southern States it is a principle of jurisprudence that no person Connecticut, who read this book by the blaze "I'm a thinkin' my old man won't know de boys and de baby. Lor'! she's de biggest gal now, good she is too, and pert, Polly is. She's out to the house, now, watchin' de hoe-cake. whose passions outweigh his interests, and a courage? Brave and generous men of New The got jist de very pattern my old man liked so much, a bakin'. Jist sich as I gin him the mornin' he was took off. Lord bless us! how I felt dat ar morning!"

Mrs. Shelby sighed, and felt a heavy weight on her heart, at this allusion. She had felt

master. Facts too shocking to be contemplated occasionally force their way to the public ear, and the comment that one often hears and feel for all mankind—by the sacred love made on them is more shocking than the thing itself. It is said, "Very likely such cases may now and then occur, but they are no sample of general practice." If the laws of New England years; by the anxieties of his education; by the were so arranged that a master could now and prayers you breathe for his soul's eternal then torture an apprentice to death, without a good-I beseech you, pity the mother who has all your affections, and not one legal right to protect, guide, or educate, the child of her bosom! By the sick hour of your child; by those dying eyes, which you can never forget by those last cries, that wrung your heart when you could neither help nor save; by the desolation of that empty gradle, that silent nursery-Chloe had pertinaciously insisted that the very bills in which her wages had been paid notoriety, from the incidents following the stantly made childless by the American slave trade! And say, mothers of America, is this a thing to be defended, sympathized with, passed

Do you say that the people of the free States have nothing to do with it, and can no nothing? Would to God this were true! was a baby den-couldn't but jist stand. Re- Pearl, and whose officers I assisted in defend- true. The people of the free States have defended, encouraged, and participated; and are would keep a fallin' over, when she sot out to girls, who had those peculiar attractions of more guilty for it, before God, than the South form and feature which connoisseurs prize so in that they have not the apology of education

If the mothers of the free States had all fel fangs, and was doomed for the New Orleans as they should, in times past, the sons of the Mrs. Shelby ran to the entry door, and was market. The hearts of those that saw her free States would not have been the holders and, proverbially, the hardest masters of slaves offered eighteen hundred dollars to redeem her; the sons of the free States would not, as they and some there were who offered to give, that do, trade the souls and bodies of men as an would not have much left after the gift; but equivalent to money, in their mercantile dealcompassionately, and taking her hard, black the fiend of a slave-trader was inexorable. She ings. There are multitudes of slaves temporable to New Orleans; but, when rarily owned, and sold again, by merchants in Northern cities: and shall the whole guilt or obloquy of slavery fall only on the South?

Northern men, Northern mothers, Northern Christians, have something more to do than denounce their brethren at the South; they have to look to the evil among themselves.

But, what can any individual do? Of that every individual can judge. There is one thing that every individual can do-they can see to it that they feel right. An atmosphere of sympathetic influence encircles every human beng; and the man or woman who feels stronghealthily, and justly, on the great interest of humanity, is a constant benefactor to the human race. See, then, to your sympathies in this matter! Are they in harmony with the sympathies of Christ? or are they swayed and perverted by the sophistries of worldly policy? Christian men and women of the North! still further—you have another power; you can pray! Do you believe in prayer? or has it become an indistinct apostolic tradition? pray for the heathen abroad; pray also for the heathen at home. And pray for those distressed Christians whose whole chance of religious improvement is an accident of trade and sale: from whom any adherence to the morals of Christianity is, in many cases, an impossibility. unless they have given them, from above, the courage and grace of martyrdom.

But, still more. On the shores of our free States are emerging the poor, shattered, broken remnants of families, of men and women, escaped, by miraculous providences, from the surges of slavery—feeble in knowledge, and, in many cases, infirm in moral constitution, from a system which confounds and confuses every principle of Christianity and morality. They come to seek a refuge among us; they come to seek education, knowledge, Christianity.

What do you owe to these poor unfortunates, oh Christians? Does not every American Christian owe to the African race some ef "No, mass'r," said Nathan; "you've always fort atreparation for the wrongs that the American nation has brought upon them? Shall the doors of churches and school-houses be shut upon them? Shall States arise and shake "Mass'r may die, and then who would get them out? Shall the church of Christ hear in

replied, "Nathan, in your place, I think I stretch out; and, by her silence, encourage the should feel very much so, myself. You are cruelty that would chase them from our bortions the wrath of Almighty God! ders? If it must be so, it will be a mournfu spectacle. If it must be so, the country will have reason to tremble, when it remembers that the fate of nations is in the hands of One who is very pitiful, and of tender compassion. Do you say, "We don't want them here; let

them go to Africa? That the providence of God has provided a efuge in Africa, is, indeed, a great and noticeable fact; but that is no reason why the church of Christ should throw off that responsibility to this outcast race which her profession demands

To fill up Liberia with an ignorant, inexperienced, half-barbarized race, just escaped from the chains of slavery, would be only to prolong, for ages, the period of struggle and conflict which attends the inception of new enterprises. Let the church of the North receive these poor sufferers in the spirit of Christ; receive them to the educating advantages of Christian republican society and schools, until they have attained to somewhat of a moral and intellectua maturity, and then assist them in their passage to those shores, where they may put in practice the lessons they have learned in America. There is a body of men at the North, com-

paratively small, who have been doing this and, as the result, this country has already examples of men, formerly slaves, who have rapidly acquired property, reputation, and educa-tion. Talent has been developed, which, considering the circumstances, is certainly remarkable; and, for moral traits of honesty, kindness tenderness of feeling-for heroic efforts and self-denials, endured for the ransom of brethren shall say what yet remains untold in that valley and shadow of death that lies the other side?

To you, generous, noble-minded men and sing. The writer has lived, for many years, on the frontier-line of Slave states, and has had great greater for the severer trial it has encounter- opportunities of observation among those who formerly were slaves. They have been in her your own secret souls, in your own private conversings, felt that there are wees and evils in this accursed system, far beyond what are here had them instructed in a family school, with had them instructed in a family school, with family as servants; and, in default of any other shadowed, or can be shadowed? Can it be her own children. She has also the testimony otherwise? Is man ever a creature to be trust- of missionaries, among the fugitives in Canada ed with wholly irresponsible power? And in coincidence with her own experience; and

that they are not willing to give or do to have their children instructed; and, so far as the writer has observed herself, or taken the testimony of teachers among them, they are remarkably intelligent and quick to learn. The results of schools, founded for them by benevo-Are the honorable, the just, the high-minded lent individuals in Cincinnati, fully establish

The author gives the following statement of facts, on the authority of Professor C. E. Stowe, then of Lane Seminary, Ohio, with regard to emancipated slaves, now resident in Cincinnati-Africa, is an inevitable attendant and result of given to show the capability of the race, even without any very particular assistance or encouragement

The initial letters alone are given. They are all residents of Cincinnati. "B----, from Carolina. Furniture ma-

ker; twenty years in the city; worth ten thousand dollars, all his own earnings; a Baptist. "C_____. Full black; stolen from Africa sold in New Orleans; been free fifteen years paid for himself, six hundred dollars: a farmer: owns several farms in Indiana; Presbyterian probably worth fifteen or twenty thousand dollars, all earned by himself.
"K———. Full black; from Georgia; deal-

lars; about forty years old; free six years; paid eighteen hundred dollars for his family; member of the Baptist church; received a legacy Full black, of Virginia; coal " G_____. thousand dollars; paid for himself twice, being once defrauded to the amount of sixteen hun-

dred dollars; made all his money by his own free; paid for self and family over three thou-

sand dollars; deacon in the Baptist church. "G. D——. Three-fourths black; white-washer; from Kentucky; nine years free; paid fifteen hundred dollars for self and family cently died, aged sixty; worth six thousand dol-

Professor Stowe says, "With all these, except G ____, I have been, for some years, personally acquainted, and make my statements from my own knowledge."

The writer well remembers an aged colored woman, who was employed as a washerwoman in her father's family. The daughter of this woman married a slave. She was a remarka bly active and capable young woman, and, by her industry and thrift, and the most persevering self-denial, raised nine hundred dollars for her husband's freedom, which she paid, as she raised it, into the hands of his master. She vet wanted a hundred dollars of the price, when he died. She never recovered any of the mo-

These are but few facts, among multitudes which might be adduced, to show the self-denial, energy, patience, and honesty, which the slave has exhibited in a state of freedom.

And let it be remembered that these individuals have thus bravely succeeded in conquering for themselves comparative wealth and social position, in the face of every disadvantage and discouragement. The colored man, by the law of Ohio, cannot be a voter, and, till within a few years, was even denied the right of testimony in legal suits with the white. Nor are these instances confined to the State of Ohio. In all States of the Union we see men, but yes terday burst from the shackles of slavery who by a self-educating force, which cannot be too much admired, have risen to highly respectable stations in society. Pennington among clerygmen, Douglas and Ward among editors Pennington among are will known instances.

If this persecuted race, with every discourage ment and disadvantage, have done thus much how much more they might do, if the Christian church would act towards them in the spirit of

This is an age of the world when nations are trembling and convulsed. A mighty influence is abroad, surging and heaving the world, as with an earthquake. And is America safe? Every nation that carries in its bosom great and unredressed injustice has in it the elements of this last convulsion

For what is this mighty influence thus rousng in all nations and languages those groanings that cannot be uttered, for man's freedom and equality? O, Church of Christ, read the signs of the times! Is not this power the spirit of Him

whose kingdom is yet to come, and whose will

to be done on earth as it is in heaven? But who may abide the day of his appear-

pieces the oppressor."

bearing in her bosom so mighty an injustice? kingdom of Christ may come, can you forget that prophecy associates, in dread followship, the day of vengeance with the year of his redeemed?

North and South have been guilty before God; tect injustice and cruelty, and making a comcounted the cost. I go to Liberia, not as to an elysian of romance, but as to a field of work. I he could get a silence, and there's first hear in but by repetitance, and the but by repetitance,

The "Author of Uncle Tom's Cabin" must now take leave of a wide circle of friends, whose faces she has never seen, but whose sym pathies, coming to her from afar, have stimulated and cheered her in her work.

The thought of the pleasant family circles that she has been meeting in spirit weekly has been a constant refreshment to her, and she cannot leave them without a farewell.

In particular, the dear little children who have followed her story have her warmest love Dear children, you will one day be men and women; and she hopes that you will learn from this story always to remember and pity the poor and oppressed, and, when you grow up show your pity by doing all you can for them. Never, if you can help it, let a colored child be shut out of school, or treated with neglect and contempt, because of his color. Remember the sweet example of little Eva, and try to feel the same regard for all that she did; and then when you grow up we hope that the foolish and unchristian prejudice against people, mere-ly on account of their complexion, will be done away with

Farewell, dear children, till we meet again.

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS THE OHIO DEMOCRACY AND WASHINGTON

UNION. The Sandusky County (Ohio) Democrat, a Democratic paper in Masillon, Ohio, commenting upon the late remark of the Washington Union, that it had never recognised Mr. Chase

as a Democrat, says: Now, what is the position of the Ohio De-nooracy, Mr. Chase included? Does it infringe upon any right of the South, or the institution of slavery? No! It distinctly dis claims anything of the sort (by the way, a courtesy which never ought to have been extended, as no courtesies are ever returned in kind.) While disclaiming all desire to interfere with the domestic institutions and municipal and local regulations of the South, it sim-

ply declares—
"That the Democracy of Ohio do now, as they always have done, look upon slavery as an evil, and unfavorable to the full development of the spirit and practical benefits of fre institutions; and that, entertaining these senti ments, they will at all times feel it to be their duty to use all power given by the terms of the national compact, to prevent the increase to mitigate, and finally eradicate the evil." We desire all readers to note that this lan-

guage is far milder, more moderate, than any on record from the pens of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Franklin, and our fathers, when writing on the "peculiar institution"—which we admit has become the "corner-stone" of political nominations-but must still be per mitted to deny of "our free institutions." In the purer days of the Republic, all statesmen characterized slavery as an unmitigated curse; and there was not a dissenting voice to the verdict among their constituents. But now, ever the Ohio Democracy-more liberal, more daring in the expression of its sentiments, than the Democracy of any other State, has, by the power of outward pressure and from considerate attention to the feelings of our Southern brethcen—salved over its condemnation with a cringing apology. This course has gained us no favor with the South and the class of men who were of us, but seek their mess of pottage at the expense of their birthright.

ore Whig papers denounce the position of the Ohio Democracy. This was to be expected, and with it we find no fault.

The Washington Union, forsooth, denies that we belong to the party, unless we repudiate certain heresies, which it says conflict with some antiquated and musty resolution passed at a Baltimore Convention on some occasion since the luckless hour when the administration of dealer; about thirty years old; worth eighteen Government fell into the hands of Galphins, and second and third-rate men.

Now, we have but few words in reply to the modest charges and demands set forth, and efforts-much of it while a slave, hiring his they shall be spoken briefly and in plainness. time of his master, and doing business for him- First: the State of Ohio has 2,000,000 population-a tenth of the whites of the Union. ondly: the State of Ohio has about 300,000 voand waiter; from Kentucky; nineteen years ters. Thirdly: the Democracy of Ohio have a clear majority of 15,000 over all, carrying 23 electoral votes—and the vote of the State is Anti-Whig, Anti-Administration, more than 40,000 votes. A few years since, the State of Ohio was reliably Whig by 20,000 or more. Its Democracy laid down a platform, we are aware, differing from that of some other States on slavery, the currency, freedom of public lands, homestead exemption, and almost every other question involving the progress of Democratic principles. Without desiring to boast, we affirm that the Democracy of Ohio now leads the van in progress, reform, and increase of numpers, and permanent strength. This is the re

sult of its liberal principles, and nothing else.

The Democracy of Ohio seeks to lay down
no test for the Democracy of sister States, on the slavery or any other question. The Democ racy of Ohio will submit to no tests sought to be imposed by Presidential aspirants, puffed-up editors, or from any other quarter. no aid, comfort, advice, or rebuke, from Washington or Memphis. All we ask is, to be let tione; and that those so desirous for our welfare and increase, will imitate our example in strengthening the cause of Democracy and lib eral principles, on their own appropriate fields of labor—the necessities of which they ought, and it is to be hoped do, understand better than they do ours-with which they volunteer to

In addition, we demand, a discontinuance of "Caudle lectures" from Washington and elsewhere; firmly believing that our party in this State is grounded on eternal principles of right-and can get along better without the aid of those who strive to teach us duty and manners, than they possibly can without our

Ohio is permanently Democratic for the next | ties as to the Presidential candidates. The ple do not wish to exalt.

From the Norwalk (O.) Experiment—a Demo cratic paper WASHINGTON UNION-OHIO DEMOCRACY.

Some days since chance threw in our wayfor we have not the honor of an exchange—the Washington Union, of the 25th ult., containing an article, in reply to the Memphis Appeal, in which the editor, A. J. Donelson, undertakes to define the position of the Ohio Democracy, and also takes it upon him to repudiate our Senator in Congress, Hon. Salmon P. Chase. The Union ing? "for that day shall burn as an oven; and Ohio, when a direct attempt was made to enhe shall appear as a swift witness against those dorse the Compromise measures, but failed by the latitude of Washington seems fast becoming a different thing from that taught by them out? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of Christ hear in states arise and shake the mout? Shall the church of the states are the mout? Shall the church of the states are the mout? The mout is the mout of the states are th

cannot be done. True, he opposed the Com-promise measures, so called, and for which the Democracy of Ohio will ever honor him. A more essentially Whig measure never received the sanction of Congress, albeit many professed Democrats gave it their support. Clay and Webster were the authors of this infamous measure and graphs who we have a condition of the same and graphs are supported by the same are su measure, and whoever heard of their origina-ting anything that did not smack of Whiggery? The Union may take what position it chooses, but we object to its dictation to or proscription

of others. From the Totedo (O.) Commercial—a Democratic

paper. SCHEMES TO DEFEAT THE DEMOCRACY.

A new political organization has been formed in nearly all of the slaveholding States, and this organization claims to hold in Missouri, Mississippi, &c., the political power of those States, giving evidence of their strength, in the late elections, by defeating the Democratic candidates for Senators and State officers. Flushed with their recent triumphs in States that have heretofore been regarded as most reliably Democratic, the organs of this new party avow their purpose to control the action of the next Balti-more Convention, or, failing in this, to defeat the candidates which that convention may put in nomination. The terms on which they of-fer their support to the Democratic party are the most insolent that could be made. They are, that resolutions shall be adopted in the National Convention, making slave labor the paramount object of protection by the great National Democratic party, and that the Fugitive Slave Law and the other Compromise measures shall hereafter be made a test of membership to that party. When it is recollected that these measures originated with the present Federal Administration, and that they are opposed by the great body of the Democrats in Mississippi, Georgia, &c., as well as in Ohio New York, and New England, it will be apparent that the insolence and arrogance of the proposition are only equalled by the infamous character of the

measures which it is proposed to interpolate into the Democratic creed. We are compelled to speak plain upon this subject, as we see in these movements of the falsely styled Union party a deep laid plot to overthrow the Democracy in the next Presi-

dential election. While the Fillmore Union party, in the States where they have overthrown Democratic ascendency, are occupying the position of "armed neutrals," threatening an open alliance with the Federalists, if a "surrender" is not made to them, and the Democratic platform lowered to their standard-while these movements are going on in the States which have been, before this new organization sprung into existence, the most reliably Democratic, the Federalists, in such States as Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mary-land, maintain the old Whig organization, and are now, with great unanimity, presenting Mr. Fillmore, as their Presidential candidate. If events shall prove him to be the most available candidate, he is and will be the first choice of the Fillmore Union party and the Fillmore Whig party of the South. These two parties are pursuing one and the same object, and are shaping their movements to have one and the same candidate for President. His election can be insured, if new tests can be forced upon the Democracy, through which agency the party will be divided and defeated. If they fail in their cunningly laid schemes to divide the Democracy, then the slave States, by the union of the two potitical parties which now control them, are to be made to give a united vote against the Democratic candidate. In carryng out this plan it has become the position and principles of the Democracy of Ohio should be assailed. The Washington Union, which has, from the outset, encouraged and sustained the "Union" organization of the South, is conspicuous in these assaults. A. Savannah (Georgia) paper, more open and frank in its opposition to the policy of the Ohio De-

mocracy, but not less hostile than the Union. Ohio Free-Soilism in the Baltimore Convention.—It will be seen by the following statement, that the Free Soil Democracy of Ohio expect to have a vote in the Baltimore Conven-

"The Ohio Democratic State Convention, at its session on the 9th of January, passed resolutions denouncing slavery as an evil which ought to be eradicated, and its extension prevented by all lawful means, and at the same time appointed delegates to attend the Nation-

al Democratic Convention. Is any party at the South willing to co-operate with men making such professions, and yet exact from them no guarantee that our rights shall be respected? Would not such co-operation falsify our own professions, and give impunity to abolitionism? The exclusion of the Democratic delegates

hardly be resorted to, though this policy is recommended by an influential Southern jour-But there is great danger that the new party movement at the South, relying upon the united support of that section, on account of its devotion to the slave interest, will be able by effecting divisions at the North, and desertions at the South, to defeat the Democratic candi-

from Ohio to the Baltimore Convention will

dates in the next, as it did in the last Presidential election. Nothing short of a bold and fearless exposition of the corrupt but formidable combination now going on to secure the perpetuation and ascendency of the Federal party in the National Government for another four years, can pre-

vent such a calamity. From the Wyoming (New York) Mirror-Barnburner.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES. The Democratic Convention, to nominate candidates for President and Vice President, is to be held in Baltimore the first of June; the Whig Convention has not been called, but it will probably be in Philadelphia the 17th of June. Speculation is rife in both of the parten years, if rid of selfish influences from without. We have no desire to make it permanentary chance is left seems to be reduced to three ly Whig for the same period, by efforts to foist on each side—Cass, Douglas, and Buchanan, into high places of power those whom the peo- of the Democrats; and Fillmore, Webster, and Scott, of the Whigs. The warfare between the friends of each of these is becoming warm, and sometimes amusing. The friends of each claim that if their candidate shall be nominated. he will certainly be elected over all opposition. while if any other candidate of their pa be nominated, he will as certainly be defeated. As between these candidates, our opinion is that Cass among the Democrats, and Fillmore

among the Whigs, stand the best chance. But perhaps it matters not to our party which of these shall obtain the nomination. The question for Free-Soilers is, can they supasserts that the Ohio Democracy approves and port any of them? The first question a voter proving the measures in question, we aver that the Ohio Democracy distinctly disapprove them, and for the evidence of such disapproved. should ask himself is, "will I make the slavery to the last 8th of January convention, the largest delegated convention ever assembled in cerned, the five first named of these individuals will be disposed of at once by every candid and intelligent Free-Soiler. What do we want a that oppress the hireling in his wages, the an overwhelming vote. This, with the re- President to do in regard to slavery? We widow and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger in his right: and he shall break in ject of slavery, gave the most entire satisfaction on the subject of slavery, gave the most entire satisfaction on the subject of slavery gave the most entire satisfaction of the satisfaction ieces the oppressor."

Are not these dread words for a nation in favor of a measure must be opposed to it, we ally, turn that influence against it. Will either the opposed to it, we ally, turn that influence against it. are quite willing to rest the position of the Ohio | ther of the individuals named do it? Two years Christians! every time that you pray that the Democracy on this subject. In reference to ago, if a man was in favor of the Compromise the cavalier treatment of Senator Chase by the he was condemned, not only by Free-Soilers, Union, we have only to say that Democracy in | but by half of both the other parties in the free States; and if he favored the Fugitive Slave Law, he was looked upon with almost a feeling A day of grace is yet held out to us. Both Thomas Jefferson. According to the obiter of contempt. Free-Sollers hold to these rules North and South have been guilty before God; dictum of A. J. Donelson, no man can be a siand the Christian church has a heavy account mon pure Democrat who does not include in by this rule. Cass, Douglas, and Buchanan, to answer. Not by combining together, to protect injustice and cruelty, and making a comtect injustice and cruelty. mon capital of sin, is this Union to be saved— crats, we would be greatly obliged to the Union ster are almost in a quarrel about which is the

Free-Soilers are concerned; and only Scott is left. What of him? He seems as yet to stand in a doubtful position; or rather his friends wish to make that position appear doubtful. We think, however, so far as the Compromise measures are concerned, there is but little doubt. Southern politicians almost universally concede that he was and is favorable to those measures; but they claim more of him-they claim that before they will give him their support he must come out openly and avowedly on their side. This he will probably refuse to do, and consequently will receive their united opposition. But will he show his hand, so that the 'friends of liberty at the North can have confidence in him? This is not at all likely, for two reasons: first, because, so far as we have the means of judging, his inclinations are all the other way; and, second, because if he should, it would kill the last lingering prospect he may have in the Whig party for a nomina-

We conclude, then, that neither of the two leading parties will present a candidate that real Free-Soilers can support. What shall they do? This is an important question. We are glad to know that the Free Soil party is not disbanded-that it has a National Committee, and that Committee has determined to call a Convention to nominate candidates if necessary. We rejoice at this, because we expect that thousands, and perhaps hundreds of thousands of voters will have no party candidates that they can conscientiously vote for, unless the Free Soil party presents such candidates. We think, then, that the duty of those who place conscience above party organization is plain. It is, to be governed by high moral principles in their political action—to vote for no man who will not give his personal and official influence to advance those public measures which they consider paramount to all others; and if no party presents such candidates, then to vote for candidates of their own nomi-There are probably hundreds of thousands of voters who make the slavery issues men who will go diametrically opposite to their principles on this question? We are not of those who believe the voter should require his candidate to agree with him on all questions; but he certainly should require such agreement on the main question; and especially so if the main question is more important than all othtogether. Whatever course parties may take, we are confident there is a great work for the voters to do who are governed

From the Green Mountain (Vt.) Freeman. APATHY OF FREE-SOILERS.

Many leading men of the old parties have with an air of triumph asserted within our Free Soil party was now a dead concern," that "the spirit which once animated it in opposition to slavery and its aggressions was obviously gone, and that a great majority of its members were evidently sick of the subject, and only waiting for a decent opportunity to abandon the cause altogether." Free-Soilers and Antislavery men, what say you to such charges? Do you deny the impeachment? "Certainly we do," will doubtless be your response; "we are as firm in our principles as ever." As a general thing, we believe you; but are you not, by your apathy, these days giving your opponents too much cause for these disparaging imputations? We greatly fear so; but from what cause can such apathy proceed? Are the great principles of freedom and right less important now than formerly? Is the declaration of Independence, alike the foundation of our truly national platform, and the Government under which we live, less sacred and obligatory? Are its principles less violated, and the rights it secures less endangered? Is the Proviso, or Jefferson Ordinance, less loudly demanded? Is the slave power weaker, or its aggressions less alarming? Is our Government less perverted by its influence? Is the commercial capital of less used in its widely extended machinations?

principles of freedom and right are the same, glorious and striking in the vile fogs by which | present Administration. minions of slavery hope to eclipse them. The Declaration of Independence still stands the admitted creed of the nation, and its principles guarantied by the Constitution are still violated during the two past years with a boldness and extent that marks the period as an era of national curruption and disgrace. If the for in 1848, as the great masses of the North almost universally conceded, it is a hundred fold more demanded now, when nearly every square mile of all the territory acquired from Mexico is being peopled with slaves. If the tions, may slip into the candidature. slave power was then deemed strong, and its aggressions alarming, what should be thought of it now, when what was comparatively but a rivulet has swelled to a dark and turbid and overthrow the very citadel itself of Amerithought too subservient to the slave power, how should it be looked upon now, when its almost undivided energies are seen employed in strengthening that power, and helping it to establish its complete ascendency over both our National and State Institutions? Nor is this all; the slave power and the Governmental power have conspired to enlist a third-the difficult to contend with successfully than either the others, or perhaps both combined. If all this be so, have Free-Soilers nothing to

do? Is not what might once perhaps be a private moral sentiment become a duty involving public action now? Have their oaths to support the Constitution no connection with their duty of public action under such circumstances? Ponder it, freemen of the North-make it a subject of your pillow reflections, and decide for yourselves whether apathy and indifference love of a free Government, and your sworn duty to maintain it; and whether, finally, you can be longer inactive and be held guiltless at the bar of conscience, or escape the curses of your posterity, for what may be forever lost through your supineness and lack of exertion.

CALL FOR AN ANTI-SLAVERY CHRISTIAN CON-VENTION.

for all the wants of the world—political, social, and spiritual! The church of Jesus Christ is the divinely appointed agency to apply this remedy: This she does by preaching the truth, and by the consistent holy lives of her to accept him in the place of Fillmore or Web-

When the church becomes remiss in duty, and ceases to bear a decided testimony against every form of sin, the effect upon the world soon becomes apparent.

That this is the case, so far as regards the larger popular organizations of the land, is but | provoking the displeasure of the other. In Contoo manifest. There is not only a great want of pointedness in their testimony against the great sins of the country, but to an alarming extent a direct participation in and advocacy of these This is especially true of the sin of

slavery.

Believing that Christians are called upon to put forth a special effort to stay the tide of pro-slavery and other corrupting influences that seem to be desolating the popular churches of the land, and sweeping away the very found- more Sun: ations of morality, it is resolved to hold an

The object of the Convention is to devise the best means of bringing the moral power of strong holds of sin, and the dissemination of a cording to this writer, Gen. Scott, in his con-

pure Gospel.

The call is extended to all the Ministers and members of all evangelical churches, not engaged in the practice of slaveholding.

THOMAS BROWN, ANDREW BLACK. WM. WISHARD. JAMES R. DOIG, GEO. RICHEY. LUKE DEWITT,

---- HORTON. J. S. POAGE. THOMAS M. FINNEY, D. CRAIG, THOMAS MERRILL, and many others. P. S. Free Presbyterian, and other papers friendly, please copy.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1852.

Subscribers who do not file the Era, and have numbers 261, 262, 264, and 265, on hand, will confer a favor by remailing them to this office, at our expense,

OLE BULL.-Of the Concert given by this wonderful performer, our friend, Grace Greenwood, discourses at large in her letter.

UNCLE TOM'S CARIN.

Mrs. Stowe has at last brought her great work to a close. The last chapters appear in this week's Era. With our consent, the Boston publishers issued an edition of five thousand on the 20th of March, but it has already been exhausted, and another edition of five thousand has appeared.

We do not recollect any production of an American writer that has excited more profound and general interest. Since the commencement of its publication in our columns, we have received literally thousands of testimonials from our renewing subscribers, to its unurpassed ability.

We hope that this grand work of fiction may not be the last service to be rendered by Mrs. Stowe to the cause of Freedom, through the columns of the National Era.

Copies of this work are for sale at this office. Price, in paper covers, \$1; cloth, \$1.50; cloth. full gilt, \$2.

Persons at a distance of not over 500 miles can have this work mailed to them, free of postage, on addressing L. Clephane, at this paramount to all others. Shall they vote for office, and enclosing \$1 in money and 24 cents age will be forty-eight cents.

A NEW WORK

We shall soon commence the publication of new novel, from the German of Jeannie Marie, entitled, Rank and Nobility, translated for the National Era by Dr. ATLEE, of Philaby high and immutable principle in their political conduct. Let them be true to their papers of that city. Dr. Atlee was an excelpapers of that city. Dr. Atlee was an excellent scholar, a man of pure taste, sound prin ciples, and large benevolence. The translation announced is his last literary labor, and the work is one full of rich and varied interest, and abounding in the noblest truths. It will probhearing, during the last six months, that "the ably run through twelve or thirteen numbers of the Era.

Beside this, we have on hand several other contributions of great value, which will appear as fast as we can make room for them.

THE POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE WHIG

The time for the National Whig Convention s not yet fixed. Some doubt whether such a Convention will be held at all; but we do not agree with them. Politicians at Washington may hesitate; the party is decided. Many State Conventions have already appointed delegates, and the Whig Press seems unani

As to the candidates, there is less trouble from personal preferences than we find among Democrats. Only three are mentioned-Fillmore. Scott, and Webster, and their friends, are severally forbearing towards each other, studiously avoiding comparisons calculated to provoke incurable animosities. To this remark the country less subservient to its designs and the letter of Mr. Clay furnishes an exception, expressing, as it does, doubts of the ability of and energy equal to those displayed by the

All three substantially occupy the same position in relation to the Compromise and Fugitive their vote. The Whigs of the North, as a Party, Law, only that of Gen. Scott not having been as obligatory as the solemn oaths we have taken | demonstrated by acts, or defined authoritatively to support it can make them; while the great by his own words, has enough uncertainty about principles of both those instruments have been it to give him the benefit of a doubt in the choose the least of evils. For this reason he adoption of the Jefferson Ordinance was called is the favorite of the Northern Whigs, as Mr. Fillmore is of the Southern. Mr. Webster is not the first choice of either; but in the event

The fear that Mr. Fillmore might be utterly rejected by the Whigs of New York, is all that throws a cloud over the prospects of his nomi river, threatening to inundate the whole land, nation. Could the Convention persuade itself that he would have at least an equal chance can freedom? If our Government was then with the Democratic candidate, of obtaining

With Fillmore or Webster for the standardbearer, the Whig party could go into the Presidential contest without any "platform." Their acts have not been done in a corner. No words could make their principles and policy better commercial or money power of the North— known than they are. The South could trust which, neutral then, is fast becoming more them—the North could not deceive itself in reknown than they are. The South could trust lation to them. The supporters of either would by that act demonstrate beyond a doubt their loyalty to the Compromise and Fugitive Law.

But Southern Whigs are anxious for success Patronage has almost as many attractions for them as principle. They cannot shut their eves to the fact that these, their special favorites, are of doubtful political standing at the North-that probably neither could command can be longer indulged in, even to say nothing the full Whig strength of that section. What National Whig Convention, whatever they may Nicholas, &c., adds: shall they do? Accept General Scott? The politicians would not hesitate, but could they rally the masses of the Southern Whigs in his support? And what to them is more important, could they maintain their own position at home, under such leadership? With Scott. undefined and unpledged, as Taylor was. never! But give them a platform satisfactory to the Slave Power, let the General plant him-Christianity is the remedy provided by God self on that, and they would be safe. Consulting Southern sentiment, however, they might divest their candidate of his strength in

> Meantime, an attempt is to be made to satisfy the South, by indirect information concerning Gen. Scott's opinions, which, it is hoped, may disarm the jealousy of one section without gress there are Southern men, who affirm positively the adherence of the General to the Compromise, and no Northern member denies it. There are Southern newspapers that do the same, and no Northern newspaper denies it. The most explicit testimony we have is that to Congress and to important State offices by of a Washington correspondent of the Nashville Banner, which we copy from the Balti-

Gen. Scott and the Compromise-The Gen-Anti-Slavery Christian Convention in Cambridge, on the first Tuesday of May, at 3 o'clock pondent of the Nashville Banner recently had an interview with Gen. Scott, who, it is alleged, is indignant at the charge made in some of the newspapers that his position in regard to the church to bear in the overthrow of the the Compromise measures is ambiguous. Ac-

versation with him, said:

"How can any one doubt my past or present support of the Compromise measures? not, at the first meeting of the friends of the Union, held in Castle Garden, New York, publicly proclaim my approval of them?—at a period, too, when but a few in that city advocated the propriety of their adoption. And immediately after my perusal of Mr. Clay's first great speech in their defence, made in the Senate of the United States, did I not sit down at my residence in the city of New York, and write to him in substance as follows? "'I have, in my day and generation, fought of the Whig party."

or if lost, would have been repaired by the inall that is glorious or immortal of the present of the Union and the Constitution—the perpetuity of our republican institutions. I trust in God that you may be successful in your patriotic undertaking; for I most heartily approve of all the measures of your bill, and will give to them a cordial and energetic support.' He also addressed a similar letter, it is said. to Mr. Webster, after reading his great speech. According to the writer, General Scott also remarked to him:

"Did I not, during their discussion in Congress, personally exert my influence for their passage through both Houses? Besides, there on putting Mr. Fillmore upon us for another extant the most incontestable proof, that had it not been for my humble aid and influence, the Compromise measures could not, by a vote of from five or ten, have passed the House of

Even the Washington Union, anxious as it is to throw doubt on the position of General Scott, does not question the credibility of this statement: and the New York Tribune admits that it has no reason to doubt that he was "an early, efficient, and most zealous supporter of the Compromise." In a late editorial, favoring do the most good attainable. the nomination of the General, it holds the following language:

"For, be it ever considered, we are not asking you to support a Higher Law candidate—an opponent of the Compromise. Your organs are never weary of asserting that Gen. Scott was an early, efficient, and most zealous supporter of the Compromise, which we have no reason or wish to denu.'

Will these indirect concessions to the South National Convention will select either Fillmore ly stood by the cause of Human Rights? Are The power it has been able to wield in uniting or Webster; or, if constrained to take Scott,

Suppose our prediction prove false—suppose Scott be nominated, without a platform, and didate, on the contrary, being pledged openly, by his character, his declarations, and the action and Fugitive Law-what would be the results? support of all those Anti-Slavery voters, of kept up? Whig affinities, who have for years past been accustomed to act with their party, only when it involved no conflict with their principles on the Slavery question. Such men as Mr. Campbell of Ohio, Messrs. Mann and Fowler, of Massachusetts, and others of similar views, would probably enlist actively under such a customed to independent political action, might call another Convention, and nominate a candidate of their own, who would draw his sup-

would find it exceedingly difficult amidst such comment. So long as those of our countrymen his temporal sovereign. Let us, in God's name, distracting events, to make headway with an who chose to intrust the priest with the keep- have no more of this. Let us dare to assert the independent nomination. The Democratic paring of their consciences retained their inde- truth, in the face of the lying world, and, inty might be defeated, and Scott be elected by pendence in civil and political affairs, it was the State, summon the State itself to plead at the electoral vote of the North. But suppose, as no intelligent observer, it their religious notions began to assume a po- The State may become enraged, may confiscate No, no; a thousand times no! The great either Webster or Scott, to discharge the duck the Whig National Convention be Mr. Fill- announced doctrines hostile to the Democratic ties of the Presidential office with a wisdom to the Whig National Convention be Mr. Fill- announced doctrines hostile to the Democratic exile, or massacre us; but what then? Such more, or Mr. Webster, or General Scott, on the Principle, arrayed themselves on the side of platform of the Compromise and the Fugitive Despotism, and succeeded in repressing the so long as Catholics retained their fervor, to in-Law, what then may we expect? The Whigs generous sympathies of the laity, their position jure the church or retard her progress. These of the South would remain united, and increase can be no doubt. Where is there a leading Whig journal or politician at the North, who hints at resistance to such a nomination, should it be made? The Whig State Conventions in the free States have abstained from any expression of hostility to the Compromise, and have announced their determination to support the nominees of the National Convention, whoever they might be. In Congress, Southern Whigs have insisted upon the disqualification

to the Compromise, and no Northern Whig has rebuked such proscription. A regular caucus liminary to the business of organization, adopted the Compromise and Fugitive Law, as a part tered a formal protest against the proceedings, if we may except Messrs. Campbell and Fowanti-slavery Whigs of New York, has been sitention to resist the incorporation of the proslavery test in the party creed. That he

Then take the New York Tribune, the organ pre-eminently of the anti-slavery portion of the Whig Party: it has frankly avowed its lates, discourses in this wise: purpose to support either Mr. Fillmore or Mr. Convention. Nay, more than this-the editor, in his paper of March 20th, goes into an argument to show that "New York is not opposed in might and influence, Austria is, in reality to Mr. Fillmore because of his approval of the gigantic; while in the same reality, America

Compromise measures." He says: "If that were the difficulty, it would be far from formidable. There are very many of our citizens who do not approve those measures, and who especially regard the Fugitive Slave Law as a wanton, useless, galling outrage on the Free spirit and humane instincts of the Yet the great mass of those who thus regard that law are also aware that the Constitution arms the slave-hunter with certain powers-that the whole subject is beset with difficulties-and they have never attempted to make acquiescence in or hostility to the Fugitive Slave Law a test of political orthodoxy. At our two State Elections, which have transpired since the Compromise measures were passed Whig friends of those measures were elected the votes of Whigs personally adverse to those measures-and so on the other side. The exceptions to this rule have been few and local. Mr. Ullmann, a warm, open, leading Compromise man, was supported last fall by at least forty-nine out of every fifty anti-Compromise Whigs in the State, and we presume would be again.

There is a revelation for you. The Whigs of New York are not hostile to Mr. Fillmore because he approves of the Compromise and Fuciple do they oppose him. What, then, is the reason of their opposition? Listen:

"Why, then, is Mr. Fillmore obnoxious to a large majority of the Whigs of our State? We answer—Because he has seen fit to proscribe and ostracise many of the most efficient and beloved Whigs in the State, on account of their alleged sympathy with the anti-Compromise majority of the party-on account of their acquiescence in the declarations of principle and zealous support of the candidates

battles which have gained for our common So the Whigs of New York who do not relish cause.

country some little renown and glory. These, however, might have been won by other men, mise, do not oppose Mr. Fillmore because he is their antagonist in Principle, but because the great battle which you are fighting involves he does not give them a fair share of the loaves and the past-all that is dear and hopeful of tion, not ours. Now, what does this mean? the future. It is the battle of the preservation "Mr. Fillmore, Mr. Webster, or whoever you may be, give us, Whigs of a certain stripe, a fair chance at the offices, and you shall have our votes, no matter what you believe, even though you hold the doctrines of devils."

The editor, in another part of the same article, avows his own purpose, and the reason

therefor, as follows: "If the States which can vote for no Whig candidate shall, under the vicious machinery term, we expect to support him. For, while we cannot approve his proscriptive and irritating course on the Compromise question, we do not hope for any practical alternative but a candidate equally objectionable on that head, while bitterly, fatally hostile to those vital principles of Public Policy—Protection, River and Harbor Improvement, &c., &c.-wherein we heartily agree with Mr. Fillmore. pect hereafter, as heretofore, to give our vote those having a chance of election, are commended to our judgment as likely, if chosen, to

Thus speaks the leading anti-slavery editor

of the Whig Party. In view of the facts mentioned, have we not sufficient ground for the prediction, that no matter what the action and nominations of the National Whig Convention, the Whigs of the North, as a Party, will abide by them? Is

SPIRITUAL DESPOTISM.

The active opposition which Kossuth, his mission, and the cause of Freedom as represented by Hungary, have encountered from the Catholics of this country, especially the naturalized Irish and the Priests, has opened the and energetically asserting the pontifical authority and the universal supremacy of the standard-bearer. Anti-Slavery Democrats, ac- eyes of many to the inherent repugnance between Democracy and Papal Authority.

Until lately, the Catholic priesthood and press Until lately, the Catholic priesthood and press and on a loyal submission and filial obedience had made no decided political demonstration. port from the Democratic ranks. If they did not do this, some would vote for Scott, some, for the Free Soil candidate, should one be in the Spiritual Power, having been confined to their by the temporal power, and concluding from them field, some, stay at home. The Free Soil party religious fellowship, excited no uneasiness, no that a man may be a Catholic and also loyal to and pretensions became a fair subject for political discussion.

In England, Kossuth was received with enthusiasm by all classes except the Catholics. The Irish people generally manifested the greatest coldness towards him. In America he Hughes, and of all the Catholic journals throughout the Union : and our Irish Catholics. with their flaming hatred of Tyranny, manifested bitter animosity against this refugee from Austrian Despotism—a fact which reveals for the Presidency of any man not committed | They have not been content with a simple expression of disapprobation, but have followed him up with the most unscrupulous assaults of the Whig members of the House, as a pre- upon his reputation, upon the cause of Hunof the basis of party action, and only two or listed in the defence of Austrian, French, three Whig members seceded; while not one and Russian Despotism. The Pope has been in either branch of Congress has since then en- justified in his war not only upon the liberties estants in Catholic countries. Louis Napoleon ler. Mr. Seward, a man looked up to by the has been pronounced an agent from Heaven, and his usurpation a blessing. Austria has

wark against Anarchy and Red Republicanism. In opposing Democracy, they can hardly will oppose it, we have no doubt; but that avoid becoming anti-American. The press he will hazard the union of the party on in America that stands up for Despotism, canthe point of extreme opposition, nobody who | not be loyal to this country. Having learned understands the theory of political action to disparage its institutions, it may be expected as held by Mr. Seward, believes. There is not to defame its character. The New York the slightest ground for supposing that he will | Tribune, after having quoted the Freeman's not abide by the action and nominations of the Journal as having endorsed Radetzky, Haynau,

> "Another journal, Die Katholische Kirchenzeitung, which bears upon its face the declaration that it is published with the approbation Archbishop Hughes and other eminent pre

"'Austria is a small, insignificant spot on Webster, should either be the choice of the the map, compared with the gigantic greatness of America,' says Daniel Webster. Yes, on the map, that is the fact. But in the world, in military, intellectual, and material relations vast as it is on the map, is but a small spot ir comparison. And against this Austria Danie Webster proposes to make war by sea and land! In what does the greatness of America consist? 1. In the tremendous extent of its forests and swamps. 2. In the terribly immense tedium of its monotony, in which it re-sembles the desert expanse of the ocean, where he who has seen one thing has seen everything 3. In the gigantic stupidity of its conceit and wind-bagginess. 4. In the tremendous great ness of its humbug; only simple children and ignorant fops allow themselves to be humbugged. But the true greatness of America, how is it with that? It is humbug."

> Not to mere declamation is their hostility to Democracy to be confined. They are organizing, it would appear, to obtain the control of the ballot-box. We copy the following statement from the Cincinnati Nonnareil :

"Startling Movements .- Our readers will recollect an article which we gave a few days Roman Catholics in Indiana had determined to oppose any man for public office who had favored the cause of Kossuth. The Times of last evening says a letter has been received by a gentleman of this city recently, from a friend gitive Law. Not on the ground of any Prin- in Indiana, which states that very many Anti-Hungarian organizations, similar in origin character, and objects, as the one referred to by the Louisville Democrat, and copied by us, exist, and are being formed all over that State. by the suggestion and advice of J. B. Purcell, archbishop of Cincinnati

It is also stated as a fact beyond question that there was a popular meeting on Tuesday evening last, in the basement of the Cathedra. of this city, of Irish and American Catholics to consider the propriety of forming political associations to defeat any and all candidates for of study on which he was eager to enter; that office, who sympathize with Kossuth and his night he was taken ill; at sunrise on the 17th

ganizations among the Catholics, destined for political effect. Judge Warden has just resigned his seat on the bench, to which he was electand fishes! This is the Tribune's representa- ed last October, and rumor says he is to take the editorial charge of a political paper in this city. Of this manœuvring we shall endeavor to keep our readers advised, while we meet the parties engaged in it as becomes the spirit of a press, free and American."

> This does not surprise us. Kossuth is regarded by the Irish Catholics here, as he was in Ireland. Richard D. Webb, the able Dublin correspondent of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, says:

"In Ireland, the enthusiasm on his behalf has been but feebly manifested, chiefly because he is the sworn enemy of despotic Austria, and despotic Austria is the main stay of the Papacy. The subjugation of Hungary has been followed by the persecution of the Protestants and the ascendency of the Jesuits in that country; and as Kossuth has mentioned this fact in his speeches, he is denounced as a bigot by the Romish priests, who abhor freedom of conscience so much that they hate a man who dares to complain of being denied its exercise. The character of the reignng American statesmen, and the sympathy with despotism inseparable from the principles and efforts to whatever candidates, among and interests of the Romish priesthood, America as well as everywhere else,) fully account for any calumnies that may have been circulated against Kossuth. The Dublin papers in their interest (one in particular, the Freeman's Journal) have done all they could to depreciate him, calling him a bigot and a rebel, and declaring that the condition of Hungary under Austria was superior to that of Ireland under England."

The political movement against Intervention, originated by the Catholic priests solely on rethis the ground that all Whig anti-slavery ligious grounds, is, we fear, but the beginning men intend to occupy? What say those gen- of troubles. It is the first essay of Spiritual satisfy its requirements? Not at all. The tlemen in Congress who have hitherto so brave- Despotism in the field of American politics. Messrs. Stevens, Howe, Allison, Mann, Fowler, the Catholics as a body against Kossuth and saddle him with the Compromise and Fugitive | Scudder, Campbell, Newton, Welch, Sackett, | his mission, and in the defence of Austria, will Schoolcraft, Walbridge, prepared to adopt embolden it to further manifestations. With the policy of Mr. Seward and the New York so large a body of voters obeying implicit-Tribune? If not, what do they intend to do? ly its bidding, it will be able, by adroit manthat he should resolutely refuse to embarrass That is a question which thousands of voters, agement, should the political world continue himself with any pledges; the Democratic canindisposed to follow the lead of the New York to be engressed with the questions and schemes Tribune and the famous Whig caucus, would which now agitate it, to acquire a fearful aslike to hear answered. Slaveholding members cendency. Certainly, with its enormous preof the Democratic Convention to the Compromise rise in their places, explicitly state their detensions, it cannot remain willingly subordimands, announce distinctly what they will, and nate to the Civil Power, without treason to The loss of the Southern Whig vote, either by what they will not do; but thus far we have itself. Claiming absolute supremacy in all the a junction with the Democratic, or by its being heard but two members from the North who, relations of men, it is bound by the law of its cast for another candidate. The concentration in behalf of themselves and their constituents, being to assert the claim, whenever it can make upon Scott of the entire Whig vote of the have announced distinctly their purpose. We it good, or pave the way for its recognition. North, making a discount in some of our large mean, Messrs. Townshend and Giddings. How Some of its supporters consider it premature cities for a few discontented Hunkers. The much longer is this Northern reserve to be now to urge its pretensions in all their length and breadth; but others are more audacious. Listen to Brownson, a man whose anti-republican lectures in St. Louis and Cincinnati have lately been heartily endorsed by the Catholic journals of the West:

"The only true policy, the only true wisdom in our times, is in exalting the chair of Peter, spiritual order. The salvation of the world, in more senses than one, depends on the Holy See, scarcely a matter of public concern. But when the bar of the church, its divinely constituted judge. things have been, but they have never been able, things are powerful against us only where our faith is weak, and our love waxes cold. Who has God on his side has no occasion to fear men

That is the true doctrine of the Papacythe universal supremacy of the spiritual order, a loyal submission and filial obedience in ALL was met by the open denunciations of Bishop THINGS to the successor of St. Peter!" The Church, supreme over the State! The Pope, the master of the People! This doctrine is openly inculcated in the United States, by leading Catholics, sustained by Catholic journals, assented to, so far as we can see, by our their deplorable vassalage to priestly authority. Catholic citizens. What is there in a Spiritual Order holding such a doctrine, animated by such a spirit, to restrain it from the attempt to obtain supremacy in politics? These political organizations against European Freedom are gary, upon the revolutionary movements in but incipient steps to more comprehensive and Europe generally; and they have boldly enformidable combinations. What may be expected, should its universal supremacy in this country become realized, may be inferred from the following declaration of an out-spoken of his subjects, but against the rights of Prot- Catholic, in the Rambler, (1st July, 1851,) one of the leading Catholic organs of England:

"As the most ultra-tolerant of talkers have anti-slavery Whigs of New York, has been silent the whole of this session, intimating no inthey fall in with the fashionable phraseolgy of the day, and protest that they would tolerate every man's creed to the fullest extent. Certainly they are marvellously astonished to hear these novel views proceeding from the mouths of the children of those who slew the Calvinists the objection was made by the Chair, or by in Holland and the Albigenses in France, and the Senator from New Hampshire. "By the filled Smithfield with fagots and flames. "Never do we fall into a more grievous error than when we think to conciliate Protestants by donning a pseudo-Protestant mask. A more suicidal policy was never devised than that which is adopted by that strange lusus natura, a 'liberal Catholic.' The acuteness of the Protestant mind comes instantly into full

Counting then the concealment of our true opinions as the most unwise of policies, we have ever avowed our conviction that in certain circumstances what is called 'persecution' is both lawful and expedient." * * * "To both lawful and expedient," persecute Catholicism is to sin against Almighty God, to persecute Protestantism, or Judaism, or infidelity, is perfectly right, provided only it be so judiciously planned and executed as not to defeat its own ends.

This might be deemed the rant of a crazy bigot, were it not for the fact that the doctrine thus boldly announced, is at this very time practically carried out by the Pope, in Spain, Tuscany, and his own dominions.

What say our Catholic countrymen to these things? Do they concur in the dogmas of Spiritual Despotism inculcated by Brownson? Do they hold that the Spiritual Order ought to be supreme—that the Pope has the supreme right to regulate the civil affairs of this country, to determine their political relations, to shape and control their political action? Do they say that persecution for opinion's sake is right, except when it is directed against Catholics? To what power, as American citizens, do they owe allegiance-to the Pope of Rome, or to the Government of their country? The recent ago, from the Louisville Democrat, wherein it abominable teachings of their priests and was stated than an organization of a body of newspapers give these questions an importance never before attached to them.

> JOHN RANDOLPH BENTON died at St. Louis on the 17th ult. The St. Louis Union of the

"We regret to announce the death of this oung gentleman, the only son of Col. Thomas age, and was cut down in the very bloom of health and manhood, giving out every promise of a long and distinguished future." The Times says:

myriad that met Kossuth; on Thursday, the 12th, he was at the St. Louis University, arranging with the President for some branches he had breathed his last.

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

The conduct of the Washington Union towards the Democracy of Ohio and its representative in the Senate, Mr. Chase, upon which we lately commented, has awakened indignation among the liberal Democrats of that State. On our first page, we republish spirited articles from several of their newspapers, expressing their views with great freedom. They are signs not to be disregarded.

THE AMISTAD CASE.

The old Amistad claim, repeatedly rejected in both branches of Congress, is again brought forward. Monday, in the Senate, Mr. Mason of Virginia, reported a bill from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to indemnify the owners of the Amistad, who were adjudged by our Supreme Court violators of the laws of Spain, and therefore not the owners of the negroes they

Mr. Mason urged it with much earnestness, and strove to have it made a special order; but Mr. Hale by a timely movement accompanied with a few pertinent remarks, completely baffled him, and the bill took its place among the general orders, to come up, nobody knows when.

THE SENATE AND THE RIGHT OF PETITION.

Last Monday, in the Senate, Mr. Walker of Wisconsin presented the petition of citizens of Milton, Rush county, Wisconsin, signed by almost all the inhabitants of the place, praying the repeal of the Fugitive Law. On his motion, it was laid on the table. Had Mr. Walker sent the petition back to his constituents, his treatment of them would have been just as respectful. The plain duty of a representative of the People is, to secure a respectful consideration of their requests.

Subsequently, Mr. Seward of New York preented four petitions of citizens of the State of New York, and a memorial of the Calen Quarterly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends of Pennsylvania, praying for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and one petition of inhabitants of Marcellus, New York, praying that Congress may institute measures for the extinction of Slavery in the United States; which ing, might be referred to the Committee on the

Mr. Mason of Virginia somewhat loftily remarked that he would not interfere with the motion of the Senator from New York. His bject, we presume, was, to arouse some of the Northern Allies? to their duty, so that they might relieve Southern gentlemen of the disagreeable necessity of attending to such offen-

New Hampshire furnished a fit instrument for the work. Mr. Norris of that State, whose election some years ago to the Senate was hail ed by the Free-Soilers of Lowell, Massachu setts, with acclamations, and signalized by the firing of a hundred guns, rose with alacrity at the intimation of his superior, demanded a division of the question, and then moved that the memorials relating to the Fugitive Law, that highly humane and popular measure, be laid upon the table. The motion was decided in the affirmative, as follows:

YEAS-Messrs. Adams, Atchison, Badger. Bayard, Borland, Bradbury, Brodhead, Brooke Cass, Clarke, Clemens, Cooper, Dawson, Dodgo of Iowa, Douglas, Downs, Felch, Geyer, Gwin Hunter, Jones of Iowa, Jones of Tennesse King, Mallory, Mangum, Mason, Miller, Nor-ris, Rusk, Sebastian, Spruance, Underwood, and Walker-33.

NAYS-Messrs. Chase, Davis, Dodge of Wisconsin, Fish, Foot, Hale, Hamlin, Seward, Sumner, Upham, and Wade-11.

Maine and New Hampshire were divided: Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio. embracing a white population equal to that of the entire South, had the honor of casting an unbroken vote in favor of the right of petition. and against a law disgraceful to a free country. Clarke of Rhode Island has gone over to the Pro-Slavery party, along with Walker of Wisconsin, and Miller of New Jersey. James of Rhode Island, and Smith of Connecticut, did not vote. Douglas and Cass, the representatives respectively of what is styled "Young Democracy," and "Old Fogies," voted, as usual,

with the Slavery party. But Mr. Norris had not done. The petition praying Congress to institute measures for the extinction of Slavery (is not the Ebony line proposed by some as a measure of this kind?) was yet to be disposed of. Mr. Norris moved that it be laid upon the table; but his eagerness to do service led him to commit a blunder. which Mr. King, the President, kindly suggested to him. "Does the Senator from New Hampshire," said he, "object to the reception of the memorial, and move to lay the motion to receive on the table?" "I object to the recepthat sprung up, there was danger that Mr. N. might escape the responsibility, of the assault Senator," was the reply. The question was

YEAS-Messrs. Adams, Atchison, Badger, Bayard, Borland, Bradbury, Brodhead, Brooke, Cass, Clarke, Clemens, Dawson, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Downs, Felch, Fish, Geyer, Gwin Hamlin, Hunter, Jones of Iowa, Jones of Ten nessee, King, Mallory, Mangum, Mason, Miller, Norris, Rhett, Rusk, Sebastian, Shields, Spruance, Underwood, and Walker-36. NAVS-Messrs. Dodge of Wisconsin, Foot Hale, Seward, Sumner, and Wade-6.

then taken on laying on the table the motion

to receive the petition, and it was decided as

So the petition was not received-the Free Soil Whig from New York, Mr. Fish, voting this time in disregard of the right of petition. Mr. Hale followed with a memorial agains the Fugitive Law, which was also laid upon the table. On presenting it, he made a statement which places the submissive Mr. Norri and his friends in a very disagreeable predica-

"I wish to call the attention of the Senate before they pass upon the petition, to one fact which occurred upon the floor of the Senate some two years since. The honorable Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Butler,] not now in his seat, gave notice, upon a certain occasion, that he would never again object to the recep tion of one of these petitions. The reasons for that announcement I do not remember that he gave. And on the same occasion the honorable Senator from Virginia, [Mr. Mason,] now in his seat, said that he would never interfere with any of these petitions that might be pre-sented by—such as I. And I believe in ac-cordance with these declarations of those Senators who were supposed to be qualified to look after the interests of the institution of those who undertook to protect this bill—the never have interfered since.

Mr. Mason assented to the correctness of the

Here, then, is a fact to be pondered. After Messrs. Butler and Mason, of the South, have given up their war against the right of petition, and announce their purpose no longer to interfere with the disposition of Anti-Slavery petitions, Mr. Norris, a Northern man, elected ciples. The remaining member, in behalf of "On Tuesday, the 10th, he was one of the to the Senate with the general understanding the Secession members, has reported the very man to outrage this great constitutional right. performing, with shameless zeal, work for Southern men which they are at last ashamed | that the struggle between the two factions is to do for themselves.

FREE SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENT ATIVES-PRESIDENT MAKING

The House of Representatives has so ham-

pered itself with complicated rules respecting debate, that but one certain mode is now left in which members can express their opinions freely upon public affairs—that is, when in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, it takes up for consideration any particular bill. Then, a member, so fortunate as to have the floor, may discuss any topic he pleases within the range of human thought without saying a single word upon the bill, or making the slightest allusion to it. Suppose it be a proposition to make an appropriation for the extension of the wings of the Capitol, or for the printing of the census, he may talk on coalition, secession, slavery, intervention, the tariff, railroads, or anything that may suit his fancy. Of course, the usage is liable to great abuse, but without it, there would not be a chance for even so much discussion as the new French Constitution allows to the ciphers who figure in the Assembly. Repeated efforts have been made by members opposed to agitation, to take away this last privilege of free debate, but thus far, fortunately, without success Better have too much talk and too little action, than action in the dark, without any freedom

The discussions in the House for some time past have been chiefly of a political character, turning for the most part on the Presidential Question. The remainder of the session will be occupied in a similar way; for Congress seems to think it has quite as much to do as the People, with the business of President-This is all wrong, but how can the evil be

remedied? Every four years a President has to be made. For the two years preceding the election, politicians are plotting to carry off the prize, and for the two succeeding years. contriving how they shall make the most out of it. But, it is from the politicians that the People generally choose their representatives, and in this way Congress is converted into a political caucus, to devise schemes for filling the Presidency and distributing Executive patronage. The interests involved are often of a personal nature. One desires a Secretaryhe moved might be received, and, without read- ship, or a mission abroad, or some appoint ment more profitable than a seat in Congress another seeks office for a friend or relative; another expects to become the agent for the dispensation of patronage in his State or District. whereby he can secure position at home.

The evil might be corrected to a certain extent by certain amendments of the Constitution. For example, extend the Presidential term to six years, and Congress will have more time to bestow upon public business. Make the President ineligible for a second term, and he becomes more independent, and having no inducement to enlist members in the support of his particular interest. Forbid members of Congress to accept any office from the Chief Executive during the term for which they are elected, and for two years thereafter. Such a restriction would greatly cool the presidential fervors which now periodically inflame the debates of that body. It would abate the personal interest of the member in the Presidential Question; it would exempt him in a great degree from Executive influence: it would lead him to look to his constituents, as the source not only of his present but his future political pre-

Give us such amendments, and Congress; leaving to popular Conventions the work of arranging party affairs, and determining Presidential questions, would devote itself with more assiduity and earnestness to the appropriate business of a National Legislature.

NATURALIZED CITIZENS.

The Richmond (Va.) Times, in its displeasure at the views held by Mr. Soulé on the subject of Intervention, styles him a foreigner, in birth, education, and training, and adds:

"But this French Democrat did not confine himself to an elucidation of Gen. Washington's views of our foreign policy. We learn from the Republic that he, a foreigner, had the effrontery and bad taste to impute a want of American feeling to such men as Webster, Crittenden, and Fillmore."

Were Webster, Crittenden, and Fillmore, de ficient in American feeling, the imputation would come with as good grace from Mr. Soulé

as from any other Senator. The practice of discriminating between na tive-born and naturalized citizens finds no warrant in the Constitution of our country, or in common sense. They are equal in all points. except that of eligibility to the office of the Presidency. The foreigner who leaves the place of his birth, and becomes naturalized among us, is an American citizen, and is fairly presumed to have identified himself with the interests and destinies of our country. The Constitution and Laws recognise him as an American citizen; he is such by choice; we are citizens by the accident of birth. It is no presumption in him to exercise all his rights as a citizen; it is sheer impertinence in us to ques-

tion his rights, and to designate him contemptuously as "a foreigner." The ungenerous spirit displayed by the Times newspaper does not, we rejoice to believe, pervade the masses of our population. They welcome the stranger to their shores, and regard him as one of themselves the moment he has declared his purpose to become an American citizen. What stronger evidence could he give of his attachment to this country, of his appreciation of its institutions, of his claim upon their fraternal feelings, than the abandonment

of the place of his nativity, and of the rights it

Were the habit of disparaging our foreignorn population general, how long would it be ere the two classes of citizens would be arrayed against each other in deadly hostility Then, instead of the rapid incorporation of emigrants into the mass of American citizens the disappearance of foreign antipathies and characteristics, all the elemerats of antagonism would be developed into frarful activity. The emigrant would learn to hate the native-born American; he would cling to his own nationality; we should soon have two great Parties, divided by the prejudices of birth, each abhorring the preuliarities of the other, and cultivating its own; and in this way the energies of the country would be wasted in a struggle which would utterly prevent the growth of a nomogeneous population and a common na

tionality. All attempts, therefore, to discriminate be tween naturalized and native-born citizens, to arouse the prejudices of one class against the other, to excite jealousies between them, to organize them socially or politically according to the accident of birth, we regard as ill-judged wicked, and pregnant with the most baleful

THE COMPROMISE IN MISSISSIPPI.—The Le nising their finality, and approving their prinresolutions in favor of acquiescing in the Compromise, which the Union party in the State Convention last November adopted. It is clear one, not for Principle, but for Power.

LITERARY. NOTICES

THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY. A Novel. By the author of "Olive and the Ogilvies." New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

We gave up yesterday to the reading of this delightful novel, and we can only speak of it in terms of grateful commendation. The story, the telling, and the characters which figure in it, are alike admirable. The style is pure, ele-fastidious speaker looked staggered at first; gant, glowing; the moral tone not only unex- but he turned the interruption to account in a ceptionable, but noble; the interest constant and intense, without being painfully absorbing. Without racking one like that of the Jane Eyre | Soule's peroration struck me as rather abrupt, novels, it all along constrains the attention, not as not so well rounded, so perfectly finished as tenden for the Vice Presidency, and passed by the strong grasp of passion, but by a tender I had expected; but it was very fine, the last hold on the heart.

In the whole range of our novel reading we never met with a character so grandly good, audience I ever recollect to have seen in Washso sublimely because so simply unselfish and ington. devoted, as that of Ninian Græme, "The Head of the Family;" but in real life we have seen, we know such an one.

The character of Rachel Armstrong is pecufearful depth of passion and strength of will, she is noble, even lovable, from the utter truth and revenge are only next to her love and faith in their intensity and fearful beauty. There is something rarely touching in the character of "Our Sister," and indescribably attractive in ance, and whim. out perfume, we do not always feel her presence-we hardly see her-but the whole book is fragrant with her

There are many splendid passages in this novel, a few of which we must beg leave to

"Ninian's heart was full. He looked up at the clear sky, beneath which, when the service was over, they too walked, she leaning on his But she did not know that he was praying, that his heart, heavy with its deep had laid itself down at the feet of God, beseeching for her. She did not know that all the way home, while she went smiling through sunny fields, her young soul lightened of its care, his was lifting up its passionate voice, crying on Heaven to keep safe for him his life's sole joy. Very solemn, too, was his prayer, not alone for the girl he loved, now tripping along in her sweet maidenhood, but for his wife, per-haps the mother of his children, his helpmeet in life's coming work, wherein all things should be done by them both for the glory of God, until, that work being over, they might lie side by side in some quiet place like this, with children's reverent tears dropping over them, waiting for the resurrection, unto that kingdom when all earthly marriage shall be done away, and that marriage only remain, which, being a union spiritual and complete, is as indissoluble as the union of the soul with God.

"Young men and maidens-idle dreamers of baseless dreams, which you call love, and toy with for a year, a month, a week-you know no more of the one true love, the one sacred marriage, than does a child who, looking at his own image in two or three wayside ponds, fancies he has seen and perhaps drained dry the great ocean which rounds the world."

Here is a statement, the truth of which we recognise at once, yet which we do not remember to have met elsewhere:

"It is a sign contrary to God's ordinance, and in itself betokening sad mysteries, when mother-love is evidently the strongest devotion and the keenest happiness of a young wife's "Got over it! Strangely do people talk of

'getting over' a great sorrow—overleaping it, passing it by, thrusting it into oblivion. Not so! No one ever does that; at least no nature which can be touched by the feeling of grief at all. The only way is to pass through the ocean of affliction solemniv, slowly, mility and faith, as the Israelites passed through the sea. Then its very waves of misery will divide, and become to us a wall on the right side and on the left, until the gulf narrows and narrows before our eyes, and we land safe on the opposite shore."

When we laid down this charming novel, it was with a thoroughly satisfied feeling, a pleasure we have not known since reading "David Copperfield"—not that this story can well be compared with that crowning work of Dickens; it has no wit or quaint drollery, little brilliance of any kind, yet nevertheless it is quite as admirable in its way. In cheerful domestic scenes, in pictures of family union, of brotherly and sisterly devotion and affection, and in revelations of that deeper and diviner sentiment, love, we know of no writer who surpasses the author of "Olive" and the later work before us. G. G.

LETTERS FROM THE CAPITAL.

Washington, March 27, 1852. effort had for some time been looked forward to with unusual interest. The character of regards some of the great, exciting questions of tion, is found in the one-term principle." the time—the questions themselves—all conspired to render his "coming out" an event of moment.

the great Compromise struggle.- Mr. Soulé rose, and began speaking with that quiet, deliberate dignity, that somewhat elaborate grace, so peculiar to him. His voice was pitched on more than usually apparent. This quietude of fice for the public good! manner, this elegance of word and gesture, would have puzzled one then first looking on his strong French-Spanish face, and meeting the flash of his intensely dark eyes. Such tones, such action, seem no true interpreters of a powerful and passionate nature, and we can but believe them the artistic result of long study and resolute practice. In Mr. Soulé we can see that will is ever supreme over impulse, and that the artist has mastered the genius. And is not this wise? for, with the consciousness of the power which genius gives, he escapes all its disagreeable liabilities. If he denies himself the wild joy of a full and fearless abandon to impulse and inspiration, he is spared those miserable imputations of madness and folly, poured upon the enthusiast and the poet. He does not build, with his genius, radiant cloud-palaces in the far heavens; he does not bridge with its aerial structures the shadowy chasms and infinite deeps of thought: he but erects, here and there along his way, a slender Grecian column, or throws over it fair, ornamented arches, beneath which he walks gracefully as to slow and somewhat solemn music.

Towards the close of his speech, the manner of Mr. Soulé became more impassioned, his tones grew clear and ringing, and his dark, face was illuminated with enthusiasm; vet through all there was not one inelegantly energetic action. There must be a primal "law in his members" of unerring grace, or he is a finished artist in this respect.

The tone of this speech is brave and generous, and it contains passages of rare strength ed certain articles of clothing and luxury, and beauty. I have never heard anything finer in the Senate Chamber than that portion of this speech beginning with these eloquent sen-

"Sir, let us not be lulled into slumber by the idea that we are too distant from Europe to be affected by her political convulsions. you not that violence and oppression are contagious, and that their triumph, in any point of time, or on any point of the globe, reacts on the laways a short one, and carries with it its own no creed, set apart no day for religious wormoral world

Why, Mr. President, speak of isolation, when you can ride your floating palaces from continent to continent in less time than it continent to continent in less time than it took your fathers, lifty years ago, to travel from Buffalo to New York, from Boston to rope. Now it is pretty certain, we should prepreters of the Word of God." These are specibrings you swift messengers, blown over to that. these shores by the same breeze that wafted

In a manner singularly impressive, Mr. Soulé gave a most extraordinary, beautiful, and solemn prophecy of Lord Pownall. But the hush which succeeded its sublime close, Mr. Cass (may his shadow henceforth be less and less!) had the bad taste to break, by the exclamation, "He was an old fogy after my own heart!" I half expected to hear the cry, "Put him out!" The courtly and somewha very characteristic manner, actually compli-menting the General—a stretch of Parliament ary courtesy, if not of Christian charity. Mr

Last night. Ole Bull's concert came off with immense eclat. There was the most brilliant

Ole Bull and his music are "one and indivisible." It is the fullest expression of his soul—the perfect utterance, the strong and ju-artifice or force; but to teach by example, bilant outpouring of his nature. He seems to and show by our success, moderation, and juscreate sounds absolutely new to every ear—tice, the blessings of self-government and the liar, powerful, and sharply defined. With a sounds you never hope to hear elsewhere on advantages of free institutions. earth, from the tender or terrible harmonies of Nature, from the most wondrous of human voices, or from any instrument by the cunning images of vitality, power, passion, mirth, joy-ance, and whim. Sometimes, when in full ca that of Hope Ansted. Simple, modest, and reer, it seems to dash along like a bold rider tender—pure as a white rose sleeping in moon-light, sending forth the sweet influences of a waves, now the rush of flame—now the silvery resolutions in favor of Brotherly Love. Protecholy life as unconsciously as the rose breathes the dainty carol of birds, or the frolicsome "come and go" of the night winds, at play

with the summer leaves. It is not always his grandest and most brilliant passages which move one most deeply rectly. and thoroughly. There are notes which he flings from him as of little worth—small, separate melodies-single pebbles of sound, which go ringing down into the deeps of the soul while the slumbering emotions they disturbed, circle on circle, go widening into the infinite. Ah! that marvellous violin! close quarters indeed, in which to compress such countless wonders and delights—as rare a marvel as the miraculous pitcher of Jove, or that petite boite of Pandora, which once imprisoned all the woes and pestilences of the world.

bow! you cannot believe it, ir the hand of Ole Bull, a mere thing of wood and horse-hair-more like it seems to the wand of an enchanter, with which he charms and the State was represented. A struggle sprung conjures forth the obedient music. The look and manner of Ole Bull, while he is playing, are peculiarly attractive and graceful. He has little action; but that is all expressive and harmonious. His tall, symmetrical form sways to his music, like a young tree to the breath of the wind, and his fine face is ever a-glow with the high joy of the poet and the artist. He has that peculiar northern warmth, which is all the more bright and genial to us, that it is kindled among snows-like the ruddy fire-side glow, shining through cottage windows on a winter's night. Finally, you are as entirely satisfied with the man as with the artist, and readily receive him. as a worthy master and interpreter of the divine mysteries of music.

Leutze's great painting of "Washington crossing the Delaware," now being exhibited in the rotunda at the Capitol, is attracting much attention, and eliciting much praise. And it is a noble work. I think I never saw a 1799 picture so gloriously alive in every figure, in every point. It has great boldness of design and execution-but no extravagance, I think no seeking after dramatic effect. It is vividly but not highly colored—thoroughly finished, but nowhere overdone. It would make an enviable fame for the artist, were not that good work already accomplished.

GRACE GREENWOOD.

For the National Era. A MARCH PROPHECY.

The skies have wept and smiled, And the earth is waiting mild, And the little seeds grow wild, Lying quick beneath the heather: So, their God is in the skies; To his buried world he cries. Awake! Arise! 'Tis the sweet Spring weather

On the sun-entreated hill, By the water-witching rill, They are rising, strong and still-Bladed hosts of grass and heather, There are crocuses about; March winds have found them out. With a merry mocking shout. For the shy Spring weather.

In the spirit's longing need, Making welcome every weed, Stepping bashful up together In the sun's more generous shine In the air as rare as wine, There are prophecies divine Of the sweet Spring weather.

our exchanges, remarkable changes of opinion | tricts. You have doubtless heard much, ere this, of have taken place in the minds of Messrs. Fill-Mr. Soulé's splendid Intervention speech, de- more and Cass. The Albany Journal says, livered in the Senate on Monday last. This that in 1842. Mr. Fillmore wrote a strong letter, denouncing Tyler, whose conduct he rethis brilliant Southron, the peculiar dramatic garded as "an additional proof that our only style of his oratory, his position in his party as security against treachery and inordinate ambi-

And in 1848, General Cass, accepting the nomination for the Presidency, solemnly an-At an early hour the Senate was crowded, nounced, "that no circumstances can possibly as I only remember it to have been during arise which would induce him to consent again to be a candidate for the Presidency!"

Mr. Fillmore now desires to fill the Presidency for a second term, and General Cass is a low key, and its foreign accent was for a time | again a candidate! How much men will sacri-

THE TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

By the official statement, the value of articles exported from the United States last year amounted to \$217.517,130, of which there were domestic gold and silver, \$18,143,163; foreign gold and silver, \$11,088,717; foreign goods exported, \$9,738,695: making an aggregate, as The imports in the same period amounted to

\$215,725,995, of which \$4,967,901 were in specie. If we deduct the specie from the gross amount of imports, and also the \$9,738,696 for foreign goods exported, there will remain \$201,019,399, as the value of foreign goods imported into and consumed in this country in the year 1851, against \$178,546,555 of domestis, as it is not Abolitionists, but Pro-Slavery tic products which we exported in that year, leaving a balance against us of \$22,472,844. This is bad enough; yet it would have been a great deal worse, but for the advance in the price of raw cotton, which thus swelled the 1844 against the interference of Abolitionists value of our exports, and reduced the balance or others with questions of Slavery, is now reagainst us. This and the gold received from California enabled us to meet the cost of our importations; and but for these resources, the the Pro-Slavery Party! one incidental and the other new, how would the industrial and commercial interests of the lous speech on this point, did not expect to find that Kossuth is unworthy the confidence and country have sustained themselves in the crisis himself sustained so soon by the Democracy of which they have had to pass through at the close of the year !- Baltimore Patriot.

Well, the fair presumption is, that we wantmore than we did gold and silver, and therefore we made the exchange. That was a fair business transaction, and the precious metals remedy. People who get in debt, and cannot pay, lose their credit, and must then work, or starve. That would be our position, if we authorized, either by law or fashion, to speak Philadelphia? when every wave of the ocean fer thrift and labor to starvation. So much for mens of the principles that you say he main-

of the European heart beneath the iron hands a hundred thousand dollars, exchanges it in a You too had better abandon it, for no platform ent, and listened with attention and pleasure Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

another at a large advance, and brings back, as the final proceeds, a cargo worth one hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand dollars. sand dollars, when, in fact, that is a real balance in our favor.

STATE CONVENTIONS.

WHIG CONVENTION OF LOUISIANA. The Louisiana State Whig Convention, held March 15th and 16th, unanimously recommended Fillmore for the Presidency and Critresolutions in favor of Internal Improvements, Protection, and the finality of the Compromise, and against Intervention. The resolutions on the last two topics are as follow:

Resolved, That our mission as a Republic is not to propagate our opinions or impose on

Resolved, That we regard the series of measures known as the Compromise measures as a final settlement, in principle and substance, of

This Convention assembled at Harrisburg on the 25th March, and was controlled entirely tion, the Constitution of the United States, the Union, Gen. Scott, Mr. Fillmore, and ex-Gov. Johnston; but of the Compromise and Fugitive Law it had not a word to say, directly or indi-

Scott was unanimously recommended for the Presidency, and Scott delegates were appointed to the National Whig Convention-ex-Governor Johnston, who would not consent to allow to slave-catchers the use of the jails of Pennsylvania, heading the delegation.

The Convention recommended that the National Whig Convention meet on the 17th June. at Philadelphia.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF VIRGINIA. It met in Richmond on the 19th March, and was a full Convention, in which every part of up in the early part of the session, on some preliminary question, between "Young Democracy" and the "Old Fogies," the result of which showed the former to be in the ascendant. The Convention expressed no preferences in relation to the Presidency; but it is claimed that a majority favored the pretensions of Douglas. The resolutions adopted are accommodating and evasive on all questions except those relating to the Public Lands and Protection. On the latter, they are hostile to the policy of the Pennsylvania Democracy, on the former, to the policy of the Democracy of the West. As showing the notions of Progress, popular with the Virginia Democracy, we have a re-affirmation of the resolutions of 1798 and

1. That the true relations between the States and the Federal Government, and the true rules for the construction of the Constitution, are correctly set forth in the resolutions and report of 1798 and '99, of the General Assembly of Virginia, and the doctrines therein expounded are hereby adopted and reaffirmed.

2. That Congress has no power to appropriate directly or indirectly the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, or to grant directly or indirectly the public lands to the purposes of

internal improvement. the low-priced necessaries of the poor as heavily as the costly luxuries of the rich, are unmotion was passed motion was passed equal, unjust, and odious; that duties designed for protection foster one branch of industry and cherish one section of the country, at the expense of others, and are utterly inconsistent with justice, sound policy, and Democratic Principles; and that we are opposed to any increase of the duties on imports, especially on articles of general and necessary consumption, such as iron, coal, sugar, salt, and coarse cottons.

4. That the Federal Government ought to adhere in its foreign policy to the maxims inculcated by the Father of his Country, and by the Father of Democracy. That we reaffirm the resolutions of the

Baltimore Conventions of 1844 and 1848, as far as applicable to the present condition of the country 6. That we recommend to the Democracy of

the several Congressional Districts, to send each not more than four delegates to the Baltimore Convention. 7. That we approve of the mode of voting heretofore pursued by the Virginia delegates

in the Baltimore Conventions, and recommend CHANGE OF OPINION.—According to one of of the whole State by a majority of the dis-8. That the vote of the State in the Balti-

more Convention ought to be given for such candidate as will command the greatest strength in the Democratic party throughout the Union, and whose principles are known to conform most strictly to the cardinal tenets of the Democratic Republican faith. Fugitive Law are treated with silent contempt.

It is remarkable that the Compromise and Not a syllable is breathed respecting them. This is extraordinary, when it is considered that the Washington Union, Messrs, Cobb and Foote, and the Democracy of Kentucky and Tennessee, have insisted on making the recognition of their finality a test of political orthodoxy, The Union smooths over the matter as kindly as possible:

"No allusion was made to the legislation of the last Congress disposing of the Territorial and slavery questions—it being doubtless considered by the Convention that no issue is now pending which can put in doubt the attitude of Virginia on those questions. It has been long since settled that Virginia did not participate promise, thus setting an example which had a happy influence on the other members of the

The resolution re-affirming the Baltimore res-

olutions of 1844 and 1848 is very accommodating. It re-affirms them, "so far as applicable men, who are interfering with questions of Slavery, by efforts to extend the evil, and keep it affirmed as being applicable to the "others"-

Dr. Townshend, when he made his ingenthe Old Dominion.

To the Editor of the National Era:

In the Era dated March 4 I observe some "there must be no class of men set apart and tained in 1840.

In your editorial remarks you say, "We are

that strive to compress and stifle its languid foreign port for a new cargo, which he sells in can long be supported by such corrupting ma- to the speech. It would be unsafe for any one terials. "Such doctrines as these have never to treat Mr. Clay with sneers and ridicule in been popular in the United States, and we this city. trust they never may be." For "how shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall Here the import may double the export, show-they preach except they be sent?" But to contend that Christ instituted no form of religious worship, and set apart no day for such thing as an outward, visible church, savors too strongly of practical infidelity for the religious taste of most Protestants.

Now, sir, if you are willing to stand upon a platform supported by these and similar priniples, as I understand you to assert that you are, but little more of your paper will satisfy me, as I would not wish such doctrines to be inculcated in any family circle. Slavery, the institution against which your paper is mainly directed, might be advocated from the Scriptures with even more plausible reasons than the principles set forth in Mr. Brownson's platform of 1840, "upon which you are willing to

You now have, on this subject, partly the views of a We wish persons who undertake the task of critics would use their eyes. Had our censor used his, he would have seen that the article he refers to, as editorial, had a star affixed to it, showing that it was not ours.

Again: the author of the article on Brownon obviously meant to say that he agreed with him in the general principles he asserted in 1840, concerning a priesthood, without meaning to endorse all the doctrines of his creed. We concur with him, too, to that extent. Jesus Christ never instituted a priesthood. The Jewish dispensation had its priests—the Christian dispensation has its preachers and teachers. who are worthy of credence and consideration just so far as they teach and preach the Truth. and no further.—Ed. Era.

BALTIMORE, February 28, 1852. To the Editor of the National Era:

RESPECTED SIR: The genuine sentiments of patriotism which animate the breasts of all men have induced a portion of my fellow-citizens to commemorate the life and character of the late Governor Russwurm, by having a eu-

logy pronounced upon him.
We love old Maryland; our dearest associations are connected with its history; but if ever we should be tempted to "seek in change of cene the charms that others see," let Africa that land consecrated by the chivalric deeds of our ancestors, be the home for us.

In accordance with the wishes of the Committee, I herewith transmit you a copy of the report of the meeting alluded to.

I have the honor to be your very humble SAMUEL A. NEALE,

Secretary of Committee P. S. We humbly ask an insertion of the re port in your paper, or a notice of it through its columns. Respectfully, S. A. N.

BALTIMORE, February 27, 1852. Prompted by considerations of the liveliest sympathy for our brethren, and impelled by an irrepressible desire to evince our deep appreciation of departed worth, by exhibiting to them the talents and virtues of the lamented Russwurm, a meeting was convened at the residence of the Rev. Darius Stokes, on Monday evening, at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of adopting definite measures on the occasion, and of having a eulogy pronounced upon him. After a half hour's social interchange of sentiment in regard to the object of the meeting, the Rev. D. Stokes arose, and, after pronouncing an elo quent tribute to the memory of Governor Russwurm, moved that Mr. John Douglass be appointed Chairman of the meeting, and Samuel A. Neale Secretary. The motion having received the full concurrence of the meeting, Mr Douglass arose, and in a few appropriate remarks accepted the appointment. S. A. Neale then arose and suggested, that as speedy and definite action was highly essential to effect the completion of the object of the meeting, that nternal improvement.

3. That specific duties, taxing as they do for the adoption of the meeting. Mr. G. A. the Rev. D. Stokes submit all requisite measures

Mr. Stokes then arose and submitted the following measures for the meeting's ratification 1st. That the Secretary transmit to J. H. Latrobe, Esq., a copy of the report of this meeting, with a letter informing him of our unanimous acceptance of his kind offer to deliver the eulogy on Governor Russwurm; and that preparations will be made in the colored Presbyterian church, for its delivery, on Wednesday evening, the 10th of March. Unanimously

2d. That the Secretary open a correspondence with the officers of the Presbyterian church, returning the thanks of the meeting for the kind offer of their church, and to tende our grateful acceptance of it, informing them that the eulogy will be pronounced in it on Monday evening, the 8th of March. Adopted. 3d. That the Secretary be empowered to transmit copies of the report of this meeting to the editors of the Christian Statesman and Na tional Era, at Washington, and also to lay copies of the report before the editors of the ity papers, for its insertion in their papers.

Adopted by a large majority.
4th. That the Secretary be ordered to issue nvitations to distinguished citizens, and that o charge be made for admission into the church on the evening of the delivery of the

eulogy. Adopted. Mr. G. A. Hackett then proposed that some one be selected to deliver an address, as a reoinder to the eulogy of J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq. Mr. S. B. Hutchings seconded the proposition

The Rev. D. Stokes arose and stated, that as he had been engaged to deliver the address in the presentation of the lots of ground, on the part of the Laurel Cemetery Association, for the erection of monuments in memory of Gov Russwurm and Benjamin Banneker, he proposed that Samuel A. Neale deliver the re-

The motion being seconded, it was carried unanimously. On motion of Mr. G. A. Hackett, the meeting adjourned to Monday evening, the 1st of

Members of Committee .- Harrison H. Webb. George A. Hackett, Cornelius Thompson, John H. Walker, Wm. S. Barnes, James H. Davis, Wm. H. Howard, Richard Mason, Samuel B. Hutchings, Chas. S. Myers, Rev. Richard B. Watkins, Rev. Darius Stokes. JOHN DOUGLASS. Chairman

S. A. NEALE, Secretary.

TELEGRAPHIC LIES.—The infamous lies propagated so often by the Telegraph, are calculated to awaken distrust even of its ordinary communications. It has been especially active in libelling Kossuth, and its lying reports have been greedily seized upon by journals prejudiced against him. It turns out that its statement of disrespectful comment by Kossuth on Mr. Clay, in his speeches at Louisville, is an utter falsehood. The Louisville Journal, a paper always devoted to Mr. Clay, contains the following explicit article, which exposes the cruel injustice of the Anti-Kossuth press of this city, and the base malice of their telegraphic correspondent:

"No paper strives harder to make it appear respect of the American People than the Washington Republic. Its last effort was a very disingenuous attempt to show that the Hungarian patriot had slandered Mr. Clay in his speech at the Court-house in this city. Not being able to find any warrant for its assault on Kossuth, extracts from the writings of Orestes A. Brown- in the reported speech of the orator, or in any son. In these extracts are exhibited some prin- of the Louisville newspapers, the Republic ciples that he now maintains, as well as some takes what certain New Orlean's papers said on were used to discharge their legitimate func- that he is represented as having maintained in the authority of the telegraphic reports from this tions. If we had not had them, we might have economized, or furnished ourselves from our labor or run in debt. The lest present is follows: That "Jesus instituted himself no priesthood—no form of religious worship." suth, namely, that in this city he held up Mr. own labor, or run in debt. The last process is That "he preached no formal religion, enjoined Clay to ridicule, the Republic proceeds to ex-

"Now, we can inform the editor of the Re public, that Kossuth treated Mr. Clay with the profoundest respect, while dissenting from his opinions. If to differ with Mr. Clay is to slander' him, then Mr. Clay was slanderedotherwise, he was not. Had Kossuth pursued such a course as the Republic says he did. he would have excited irrepressible indignation in the bosoms of hundreds of the stanch friends these shores by the same breeze that watted them from the Eastern hemisphere? when, low as it beats, you can hear every pulsation

Another thought about this balance of trade. Another thought about this balance of trade. A merchant ships at New York a cargo, worth son in 1840, although he has abandoned it."

suth's altering his speeches for the press, is utterly untrue, so far as the speeches in this city are concerned. The speeches were read, and were printed as they were read. The tele-grapher from this point has grossly perverted the truth in relation to the treatment of Kossuth and the popularity of his cause in this city. And yet on such villanous fabrications

the Republic bases its charges against Kossuth. "The Republic had before it the concurring statements of three daily papers in this city the main question. in direct opposition to the statement of an unknown and unscrupulous telegrapher. It pre-Carried—yeas 99, nays 71. Mr. Marshall, of Kentucky, moved to lay the ferred to believe the falsehood rather than the

SNUFF CHEWING.—The British Banner, the leading organ of the Dissenting Interest in England, publishes queer letters sometimes about our country. By the way, it may make a similar remark about some of our letters from England. In some recent correspondence in its columns, an Englishman, settled somewhere about Pittsburgh, writes to his friends at home as follows:

"The females have a most abominable sysdiscipline in the navy.

Mr. Stanton informed the House that the tem of rubbing snuff on their gums and teeth which, I suppose, they do to match the men in their filthy habit of chewing tobacco."

We suppose there may be women in America who use snuff, as there are women in England who drink: but nobody, except those whose associations are confined to such classes, imagines them fair representatives of manners and morals. Fortunately, we have yet to see a snuff-chewing woman.

PROVINCIALISMS.—Provincialisms are not always understood by strangers. Professor Johnston, in his Notes on North America, speaking of certain Yankee peculiarities of expres- the bill, which was lost-yeas 76, nays 97 sion, entirely misapprehends one of our cant

" Do you know so-and-so?; a person will ask; 'I do not know anybody else,' will be the lanthropy which expends itself on the convicts of our prisons, and criminals in general, and reply-meaning that he knew the person, and probably many others besides. It is rare in any country to meet a provincialism so obvi-ously awkward as this."

With such a construction, the phrase must appear very awkward indeed; but the Profes- in that service, were generally composed of the sor commits a great blunder. The expression most abandoned class of foreign criminals, and means simply this: I know the person so intimately, that I can hardly be said to know any-discipline from the service.

"DONATE AND GIVE AWAY."2_" My friend from Tennessee asked me what security we had that Congress would not donate and give away these public lands, if we adopt the graduation policy."—Speech of Senator Brodhead, of

The Hunker Democrats of Pennsylvania pay no more respect to the proprieties of language, than to the demands of Principle. " Donate and give away!" Oh, most learned Senator, why would not "give away" suffice? And then, what is your authority for that barbarous word. "donate?"

THE FREE SOIL DEMOCRAT of Chardon, Ohio, has passed from the hands of J. F. Asper into those of J. S. Wright, who will continue to advocate, as his predecessor has done so faithfully, the interests of the Free Soil

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS.

THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS-FIRST SESSION. SENATE. FRIDAY, MARCH 26.

The private calendar was taken up, and the pill for the relief the Carmelite Nunnery, of

Baltimore, was first taken up. Mr. Mallory said the bill was one to remit me clerical vestments imported for the use of the clergyman officiating in the proceedings of the late Free Soil Convention the chapel attached to the Nunnery. The amount was small, and he referred to numerous precedents of like cases, where the duties were remitted.

Mr. Hunter said the Finance Committee had reported adversely to the bill. The parties in-terested presented a case as meritorious as any man sinews, and we shall never cease to dethat could possibly be made out. But the committee desired the Senate should determine the principle involved, as there were several other cases pending. If the Senate should Do they mean, that they are opposed to the pass the bill, the committee would understand

possession of large tracts of land and large how to act upon all such cases.

Mr. Hale opposed the bill. If the duty on numbers of slaves by single individuals? Probably not, for, as consistent anti-slavery men, they ought to oppose the enslavement of every vestments was to be remitted because they were necessary for the clergy to administer the and any single human being. Their language is very vague and indefinite, but by the aid of all the lights attainable, such as history, forrites of their church, why not remit the duty on the food which the clergy ate, and which mer declarations, &c., we are enabled to guess

was necessary to their existence.

Mr. Pratt earnestly advocated the passage of the bill, and referred to various other cases that they intend to denounce property in land, where the duty had been remitted on Bibles imported for the Bible Society and other religious societies. Congress had never yet refused an application of this sort, and he hoped would not | parties, and all fragments of all parties only to Mr. Badger said he was in favor of this bill.

remitting the duties on the vestments of the elergymen who were to officiate in the chapel attached to this institution. The ladies engaged in this noble and most charitable associaion, to afford gratuitous education, deserved the highest commendation. They had no money, because their vows compelled them to

The debate was continued till three o'clock. in which Messrs. Borland, Mason, Hale, Bayard and Bradbury, opposed the bill, and Messrs. Pratt, Soule, Downs, Seward, Dawson, and Mangum, supported it; and on the question of ordering it to be engrossed, it was decided in the negative, by the following vote: YEAS-Messrs. Badger, Brooke, Cass, Chase,

Dawson, Dodge of Wis., Dodge of Iowa, Doug as, Downs, Fish, Foot, Geyer, Jones of Tenn. Mallory, Mangum, Pratt, Seward, Shields Soule, Sumner, Wade—21. NAYS — Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Borland, Bradbury, Brodhead, Clarke, Cooper, Davis,

Gwin, Hale, Hamlin, Hunter, King, Mason, Morton, Norris, Sebastian, Smith, Spruance Underwood, Upham, Weller—22. The Senate then adjourned till Monday.

SATURDAY, MARCH 27.

The Senate did not sit to-day. MONDAY, MARCH 29. Mr. Walker presented ten petitions from

Wisconsin, asking grants of land to aid in the construction of certain railroads in that State He also presented a petition from that State. signed by men, women, and children, asking a repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, which, on his motion, was laid on the table. Mr. Sumner presented petitions in favor of cheap ocean postage.

The Deficiency bill was received from the

House, and was referred to the Committe on Finance.

Mr. Seward presented five petitions from citizens of the State of New York, praying the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, which he moved be referred to the Committee on the Judic

ary. [We notice this proceeding in another Mr. Hale's resolution directing an inquiry as to the propriety of purchasing the picture of Washington crossing the Delaware, was then adopted. Mr. Mason reported a bill to indemnify the

MENT,

IN Philipsburg, Beaver county, Pennsylvania, on the I south side of the Ohio river, opposite the mouth of the Big Beaver Creek—twenty-eight miles from Pittsburg, eighty irom Wheeling, and one hundred from Cleveland. Few piaces afford rarer opportunities for delightul rambles than Philipsburg. From the summits of the lotty, shady hilts immediately in its rear an extended prospect may be had. Nine different towns (among which is the County Town of Beaver) may be seen from thence. The buildings are conveniently arranged for Hydropathic purposes; the ladies' and gentlemen's bathing, sitting, and sleeping apartments being entirely separated.

For the pleasure and amusement of patients, a Pin-Alley, Arched Saloon, &c., have been fixed up.

Soft spring water, of the utmost purity, is used in the esmaster and owners of the Spanish schooner Amistad, and, after a variety of motions and votes upon making it a special order, the bill was put upon the calendar.

The California dry dock and navy yard bill was then taken up, and Mr. Hunter addressed

the Senate in opposition to it, and Messrs. Gwin and Hale in favor of it.

The bill was postponed till to-morrow.

The bill amendatory of the several laws respecting the coinage of half and quarter dollars, dimes, and half dimes (Mr. Hunter's bill) was taken up and ordered to be engrossed.

And the Senate adjourned.

Arched Saloon, &c., have been fixted up.

Soft spring water, of the utmost purity, is used in the essential than the spring water, of the utmost pring water, of the utmost pring is used in the essential than the proprietor has had twenty years practical experience as a regular Physician, twelve of which he has practiced under the Hydropathic system. Terms—only five dollars per week, payable weekly. All seasons are adapted to Hydropathic cures.

Each Pati-nt is required to furnish two heavy weellen blankets, two large comforts, four sheets, four towels, and one camp-blanket, or India-rubber sheet.

Dr. ED WARD ACKER, Proprietor, Philipsburg, Rochester P. O., Beaver Country, Pa. the Senate in opposition to it, and Messrs. Gwin

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. FRIDAY, MARCH 26.

The House again went into Committee, and again took up the Deficiency bill. After action upon various amendments, the SATURDAY, MARCH 27.

The House proceeded to the consideration of the Deficiency bill. Mr. Haralson withdrew his motion to recommit, and asked the previous question on the engrossment of the bill; pending which, Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, moved a call of the House, which was sustained, and 155 members only answered to their names.

Mr. Fowler moved to lay it upon the table.

The House then proceeded to the considera-

tion of the amendments reported from the Committee of the Whole, which were severally

agreed to, and the bill passed-yeas 94, nays

Monday, March 29.

Mr. Stanton, of Tennessee, obtained leave to

move a report from the Naval Committee on

bill had passed the Senate, and its provisions

had met the approbation of the Secretary of the

Navy and all the officers of this station; it provided a system of rewards and punishments ur-

gently demanded at the present time, and high-

next Thursday.
Mr. Stewart, on his motion to postpone, dis-

cussed the merits of the bill at length, and

strenuously objected to certain provisions in it,

Mr. Orr moved to lay the bill on the table ;

The question then occured on the passage of

Mr. Millson moved a reconsideration of the

bill, and on his motion urged reasons in opposi-

Mr. Evans was opposed to this modern phi-

Mr. Stewart moved to postpone the bill till

ly necessary to the naval service.

as arbitrary, cruel, and tyrannical.

st-yeas 71, nays 94.

never regret it.

follows:

On motion, the House adjourned.

District Judge in New Hampshire.

in favor of Land Reform doctrines.

To the Editor of the National Era:

TUESDAY IN CONGRESS.

The House, in Committee of the Whole on

the state of the Union, took up the Homestead

bill. Mr. Fuller of Maine opposed it. Mr.

Churchwell of Tennessee advocated it. Mr.

Grow of Pennsylvania delivered a strong speech

FREE SOIL CONVENTION OF OHIO.

In your paper of the 26th ult. are contained

as equally vicious, unjust, and defective, as

property in slaves! Is moderation never more

to be known amongst political men? Are all

agree in the one principle of driving every

measure into the extremest ultraism? I believe

it is Sydney Smith who says that public wis-

dom is always high pressure wisdom. Extremes,

alas! beget extremes. Is there a reflecting

man in the community who does not see that

the Red Republicans have, unintentionally,

erected the most ignoble of thrones, and filled

it with the most ignoble of despots, in the per-

son of Louis Napoleon? This they did, by chill-

ing the blood of every man of property in France

by their horrible dogmas. Louis Blane scolds

and complains I say to him, as Nathan said

to David, O Louis Blanc, thou art one of the

This Ohio Convention are the avowed ene-

MARRIAGE.

on the 25th ultimo, by Rev. James K. Ballen-

tine, EUGENE L. SPERRY, Esq., of Tioga, Pennsylvania, and Miss Eliza C. Baynes, of Gates.

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men who have done this deed.

threatens us with some great evil.

let us know what we are to expect.

Woodsfield, Ohio, March 4, 1852.

Mr. Brenton moved to amend the title of the

bill on the table. Lost-yeas 76, nays 97.

bill. Not agreed to.

The House then adjourned.

The doors being closed, and pending the call of the roll, on motion, all further proceedings under it were dispensed with.

The previous question was sustained.

Mr. Fitch moved to reconsider the vote on

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It is excessively known that the undersigned has by theory and practical experiments so fully demonstrated the practicality of aera' navigation that all who have duly examined the subject are convinced; and no person, even those whose interests ar adverse to its success, can offer a word of rational argument against it. Several model machines have been constructed, and each of them has operated successfully; and one of them, sixteen feet long, carried a small attendency by the power of which the machine was propelled; and, being guided by its own helm, travelled rapidly through the sir, even against a breeze of wind, in direct lines or circles, assording to the adjustment of its heim. This machine was witnessed and a opland, d by hundreds in New York and Boston, and n ticse thereof were published in several newspapers of those cities at the time. Since those experiments were made, the inventor has made additional improvements where by the invention is now perfected. And it appears certain that a safe and durable aerlal ship, (or secoport,) capable of carrying one bundred and fifty passengers at a speed of nine; y miles an hour with more perfect safety than either steamboats or railroad cars, may be constructed for \$15,000, and that the expense of running it will not exceed \$25 per day. This sacoport will make the rip to California or to Europe in two days; and will be patronized with abundance of business (more than 50,000 persons are now ready to engage nessages) at \$100 per passage, which will amount to \$30,000 per trip, each way; or \$8,000 per week, besidess \$4,000 for carrying mails. If this acroport is owned in abares or \$5 each, a single share will produce an income of \$20 per week.

It is ascertained by a minuse and careful estimate, that an exoport 150 feet long and espable or carrying wive persons at a speed of sixty miles per hour, may be constructed for \$1,500. Now, having been dis 'feeds them on ginger bread and pound cake.' He had conversed with our naval officers, and all were of the opinion that our present state of discipline would ruin the navy. Our sailors. it is impossible to retain the better class of seamen, so long as we withhold the necessary Mr. Stanton, of Tennessee, spoke of the rewards which the bill conferred upon sailors who for twenty years had performed duty faithfully. For such, an asylum was provided on half pay during life. Punishment by the lash had been abolished in almost every State in the Union. Confinement in irons had not. Some summary punishment was necessary in the navy. He was opposed to the lash, but the provisions of the bill which the House had just rejected, he thought, were loudly called Mr. Venable was in favor of giving the sailor as well as the landsman a reward for services rendered his country. He had always voted to give seamen bounty lands, and he should The Senate was occupied with the consideration of a proposition to raise the salary of the

of Ohio, which met at Columbus on the 11th of February. One of its resolutions reads as

"Resolved, That we are against monopoly in Washington, April 1, 1852. RUFUS PORTER. P. S. It is confidently believed that by this invention unexplored regions may be examined, and the light of civilization and Christianity may be disseminated through be alighted lands with facility; and that the world will honouche names of those who now subscribe to aid the introduction. mand for all men equal rights in the pursuit of tion of an invention calculated to confer imme What does this STATE CONVENTION mean?

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mies of slavery. They put our land-titles in the same category with that institution. Their ambiguous and oracular language, no doubt, WINTER AND EARLY SPRING GOODS FOR GENTLEMEN'S WEAR. CHARLES A. SMITH & CO., No. 1, Old State House, Boston, begs leave to invite gentlemen visiting Buston to examine their LARGE STOCK, most of which has strong, it would have been merciful in them to been selected by a gentleman of great experience AS A BUYER, from the principal manufacturers of England, Germany, and France, and

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May 15—tf

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE COMPROMISE MEASURES. SPEECH OF HON. J. R. GIDDINGS,

THE SEVERAL ACTS OF CONGRESS WHICH CON-STITUTE THE COMPROMISE, INCLUDING THE

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW. Delivered in the House of Reps., March 17, 1852. The House having resolved itself into Com-

mittee of the Whole on the state of the Union

on the Deficiency Bill, (Mr. MEADE, of Vir-

ginia, in the chair)-

Mr. GIDDINGS said: For the manner in which these political uestions are now precipitated upon the House I feel no responsibility. From the commencement of our session I have endeavored, so far as able, to guide the business of this body in the influence I could command, to take up the flesh at the South. It appeared to me that this was not the place for such declarations.

lar resolutions on the table. The support of even to ballot for a Speaker; and few days of ed principles. the entire session have passed, in which a portion of the time has not been occupied by such

The Compromise I understand to consist of a series of laws, enacted by the late Congress, consisting, first, of the law which admits California as a State. The object of that bill being accomplished, no attempt to disturb it will of course be made. Secondly, that which defines the boundaries of Texas. This, too, has accomplished, no attempt to disturb it will of course be made. Secondly, that which defines the boundaries of Texas. This, too, has accomplished, no attempt to disturb it will of liberty and slavery. The Whigs, at the compensation of the questions of a neighboring State, destined to the Southern market. The parents, having deliberated upon the start of their competitors in servility. They fornia as a State. The object of that bill being plished its object, and is therefore settled, and no longer a subject of controversy. The others, establishing Governments in our Territories. excluding the slave-breeders of Maryland and Virginia from the slave markets of this District, and that for the recapture of fugitive slaves, are in operation—subject, like other statutes, to modification or repeal. But it is said that all questions of slavery were settled by the passage of these laws; that they are to operate as a final quietus of the whole slavery agitation. Power was the only means of securing political success. But we are given to understand, These ideas were not advanced in this body at the time those bills were passed. Indeed, if party, that their National Convention will do thereby upholding this slave trade. Now, sir, my recollection be correct, there was no discussion upon the passage of the fugitive law, or the laws establishing Governments in Utah and party and their candidate to maintain the I wish to inquire of those gentlemen whether they are willing to rise on this floor, and say frankly to the people of our State, that they New Mexico. They were passed under the previous question, without examination. Few are now told that the Whigs will play dark; members of that Congress, I think, entertained | that they will make no avowal of principles, the absurd notion that their action could bind but will select as their standard-bearer a genthe action of gentlemen now present. Few members from the free States, who voted for these measures, have survived the storm of muskets, and go forth to the conflict without popular indignation, brought upon themselves by the passage of those laws. Their successors were sent here for the very purpose of repealing these enactments; and I am of opinion that it will require strong argument to convince them that the reprehensible conduct of their predecessors is to control and govern this Con-

I am aware that men in high official stations have announced to the country that the slave questions are settled—that all agitation has ceased. But what are the facts? We see and port of the Country that the slave in this body. know that discussion has increased and extended more rapidly since the enactment of those laws than at any former period.

Our elections are very generally made to de-

Hampshire? What were the issues in Massaslavery. And while on this point, I would ask | families, and accumulate wealth. what has blasted and withered the last political hopes of the present Secretary of State? Every man knows that it is this very question of slavery. While he has been writing letters an occupation abhorrent to every feeling of most of our elections for State and county offiwill confide in no other.

sand to three millions.

The slave States, early finding themselves unable to hold their bondmen in subjection, called on the Federal Government to assist them in recovering their fugitives from their neighbors, the Indians. Without discussion, or, so far as we know, without obligation, the Executive power, then as usual in slaveholding hands, effected a treaty providing for the return of fugitive slaves to their masters. This treaty followed. The Indians failed to live up to their stipulations. The sending of their fellow men back to chains and bondage was a barbarity at which they revolted. At length the first Seminole war ensued. Then the second; and untold millions of the people's money

was squandered in returning them to bondage

Slavery and the slave trade, in this District, was established early in the present century and in a few years thereafter, Congress estabquired. Three million slaves could not be held quered; and we did it: to take upon the nation slaves; to appoint officers, or slave-catchers, in their doctrine and their policy. from a land of chains, and sighs, and bitter tears. The people of the free States have witnessed these things. They know them to be unconstitutional-violations of their rightsinhuman, and barbarous. They, of course and they are endeavoring to cast these burdens embrace this slave trade; that if from them. And they will do it. Looking forward, as all reflecting men must,

20,000,000 slaves in the United States-a tives of freemen, and avow their sentiments; greater number than our present white popu- and if there be a Northern member who will of holding that vast number of human beings hear him, and I await a response." in bondage; if we are to appoint officers to their freedom, and to pay the expenses of recupy our whole time at no distant day.

For three years past, this body has done very little except to legislate for slavery. But what in this District?

else can it do, when that institution shall be Mr. HIBBARI three times as great as it now is? Sir, this agitation will increase as slavery increases, unless this Government shall respect the consti-

rights of the several States respecting slavery, that I now feel no disposition to repeat the Mr. GIDDINGS. I thank the

late the rights of husband and wife. Slavery, with all these subjects, are matters which each State should regulate for itself, and with which

To this view of our constitutional obligations, both the great political parties of the nation are committed. I need only quote the resolution of this House in December, 1838, which is in the following words:

"That this Government is a Government of limit ed powers, and that, by the Constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the institution of slavery in the several States of this Confederacy."

This resolution was introduced by a distinguished Democratic member, and was sustained by a vote of 198 yeas to 6 nays; nearly every member of both parties voting for it. The Baltimore platform contains resolutions substantially embracing this doctrine; and now regular and appropriate channels marked out the entire Democratic party of the nation by our predecessors in the earlier and better stands pledged before the world to maintain days of the Republic. I endeavored, by all the State, to maintain just such an attitude, in re-President's message in the first months of the gard to slavery, as to them shall appear just session. On examining that document, all parander easonable. Such, too, were the positions ties could have brought forward their views. I of the Whig party, generally, up to the paswill also add, that I regretted to hear the gentleman from Georgia, who has just taken his seat, boast in this Hall of the price of human strongly committed to this policy than were the Democrats. The free Democracy at Buffalo adopted this great leading principle of State Sir, on the morning of the first day of this Rights, as the basis of their organization. But session, one of the great political parties of this body, in caucus assembled, resolved to sustain the Compromise measures of the late Congress. The other, assembled in like manner, laid simi- portant doctrine, upon the maintenance of which the liberty and the rights of the people these measures was a subject of agitation and depend; while both the other parties have, discussion, before we had proceeded so far as

To the maintenance of the Compromise measures as a final settlement of the slave question, the President, in his message, exhorts the people to adhere. The Whig and the Demo- to the tortures of the far South by this trade. cratic parties are each striving to go beyond the other in their devotion to this plan for sipassed resolutions, pledging their party to the support of the Compromise. And here, in this Hall, certain leading members publicly boasted who sit in this Hall, and by our silence and imof the fact, before we had even commenced the evidently thought that servility to the Slave Compromise measures. On the other hand, we tleman of acknowledged military renown; will spike his cannon, take the flints from their own

And now, Mr. Chairman, the question comes home to every elector of this nation; to every man, woman, and child, whether bond or free. What will be the effect of maintaining the Compromise? What the effect of silencing further intention to sustain the Compromise, without agitation of the slave question? These are descending to particulars and explaining what promise? What the effect of silencing further mportant inquiries, which, as yet, have never been answered; nor have they been discussed

The first consequence resulting from the support of the Compromise will be to maintain

slavery and the slave trade in this District. As already observed, in 1801, Congress passed a law, by which the institution of slavery in this District, with its attendant commerce pend on the slave question. It has placed new in human flesh, was continued and established and able members in the Senate, and it has under Congressional enactment. That law redriven others in the Seatc, and it has occared driven others in the Seatc, and it has occared driven others in the Seatc, and it has occared driven others in the Seatc, and it has occared driven others in the Seatc, and it has occared driven others in the Seatc, and it has occared driven others in the Seatc, and it has occared driven others in the Seatc, and in our Seatch and it has occared driven others in the Seatch and it has occared driven others in the Seatch and it has occared driven others in the Seatch and it has occared driven others in the Seatch and it has occared by which he shall be strengthened and enabled that to an indefinite period will weigh down our own observation, within our own jurisdiction, by virtue of our own laws, man is degrated by the seatch and th bed of his intellectual enjo of them, to that land of political forgetfulness in deplorable ignorance, and disrobed of his in human flesh. I would be as willing to traf- the free States, inhuman, and barbarous. from which they will never return. What manhood. By virtue of those laws he is transquestions entered into the late contest in New formed into a chattel, brutalized, and sold like owner of yonder slave prison in his accursed swine. Here, sir, men and women are bred for chusetts at her late autumnal election? What market. Beings in human shape follow the has occasioned the political revolution in Ohio? business of rearing boys and girls for sale; These elections turned upon the question of and by that business sustain themselves and barracoon, to the office of President, as I would bate, and seek to misrepresent us by general

of slavery. While he has been writing letters an occupation abhorrent to every feeling of and making speeches to demonstrate that the slave agitation had ceased, it was operating in Whig members of this body, on the first day while the Whig candidate is to keep silence in regard to them.

an occupation abhorrent to every feeling of Christianity and of decency. Yet, sir, the Whig members of this body, on the first day stitutional. the popular mind, was silently stealing his political breath, and has now pronounced the sentence of death to his political hopes. In cers, it is rapidly becoming the principal dis- fore repeat, that the support of the Comproturbing element. The people in some portions | mise measures is identified with and inseparaof the country will not confide in those who are ble from the support of slave-breeding and slavethe advocates of freedom, in other parts they dealing, now carried on in this District. To sustain the Compromise is to sustain these The institution of slavery has increased its practices. To prohibit the slave trade here victims, in sixty years, from six hundred thouis required, I understand, of each of the Demo- from that country by the laws of God." In- unmeaning generalities, and refuse to avow cratic candidates for President, that he shall sustain the Compromise, and thereby lend his whole official influence to uphold and encourage the breeding and sale of slaves in this District. Unless pledged to this, he cannot published some two months previously in most humanity of a worse than savage oppressor. receive the support of that party; while the Whig candidate is to say nothing about it, to express no opinion in regard to it, to stand neutral upon the subject. To stand neutral, constituted a precedent. Another similar to do nothing, is to lend an influence in favor in New Mexico, as we have seen by the public nity of the human race. of this growing human flesh for market. This traffic in the bodies of females depends on the voice of Congress. If we say stop, it ceases forever; if we are silent, it continues. To remain supinely silent, is to continue it.

Now, I do not think there is a member on this floor from a free State who dare speak out boldly and say to this House and to the coun- are these Territories to be delivered over to the Constitution, by legislating for its enforcement, try that he is in favor of this breeding of mankind for market, that he approves of this traflished the coastwise slave trade. As the institution increased, more slave territory was demanded. Louisiana was purchased; then

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into slavery; and hondreds of native born Texas was annexed. War with tate to rise here and declare their intention to Mexico followed, and vast territory was ac- support the Compromise, thereby lending their entire influence to sustain this business of breedin bondage by the power of the slave States. ing human cattle for the shambles. I respect-We were called on to permit the institution to fully ask the gentleman from New York, Mr. be extended into our Territories; we did so: to BROOKS,] who first publicly swore allegiance to give free territory to Texas; and we did it: to this Compromise, whether he is in favor of suspay her for territory which our arms had containing this traffic in human flesh? I desire to understand the position of gentlemen, and ritories. the burden of capturing and returning fugitive hope they will stand up manfully and avow all parts of the free States; to subject the citizens of the North to the expenses and disgrace will do in regard to this slave trade? Will he say emphatically, that they have made up insensibility to all that is right, and just, and say emphatically, that they have made up patriotic? zens of the North to the expenses and disgrace of chasing down the hunted fugitive, as he flies vote to continue or to abolish it? I await his their minds to support slavery in this District

Inasmuch as that gentleman remains silent, I respectfully ask any other Northern man, who sustains the Compromise, to say whether he is and on our Southern coast. If gentlemen horrent doctrine of subjecting the laboring men willing to sustain this traffic in human flesh? understand that the remedy is with themselves, I repeat, that I understand the Compromise to mean this. When they say the slave question | The history of our Government shows this fact, the Compromise we must sustain this traffic. And I desire to see gentlemen stand up, like of maintaining slavery and the slave trade, portion of their earnings, to pay for catching we see that in sixty years more we shall have honest, honorable men, like the Representalation. Now, sir, if this Federal Government is to take upon itself the burden and expense of this House and of the country, I desire to is to take upon itself the burden and expense of this House and of the country, I desire to

But, inasmuch as I have been addressing catch all who shall hereafter attempt to regain Whigs more particularly, I will also inquire of gentlemen on the other side of the House on turning them to bondage; if we are to provide this point. I noticed the letter of the gentle-territory for them, and to maintain slave markets for such a population, we shall find our- alluded to by the gentleman who preceded me. selves involved in business which may well oc- I understand that he considered himself pledged to support the Compromise. I should like to know whether he will sustain the slave trade

Mr. HIBBARD. I voted for the bill of the last Congress abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia. That vote explains my ing that speech with the conduct of a certain of the lower law," to preach up the duty of views on that subject. If the gentleman wishes tutional rights of the free States, and relieve the from the burdens, the disgrace, and the crimes, of that institution.

Views on that subject. If the gentleman wishes honorable member from the same State, who, in the last Congress, fled from the Hall in dishing slavery in the District, or the trade between the people of the District. I answer that crimes, of that institution.

I have so often discussed the constitutional rights of the state of the constitutional rights of the state of the stat

Mr. GIDDINGS. I thank the gentleman for doetrines on which I base my political action; his frankness. I understand him, and the but I may be permitted to say, that Congress country understands him. I was mistaken in but I may be permitted to say, that Congress country understands him. I was mistaken in has no more right to bestow its energies for the support of the slavery of the South, than it has to sustain their banks, their railroads or their of words and courage the had asked for anything; then had asked him who frankly avows his sentiments; and all must pity him who has not the moral courage the hearts of a Christian people, will eventually to sustain their banks, their railroads, or their system of apprenticeship, or the laws of those system of apprenticeship, or the laws of the laws system of apprenticeship, or the laws of those States respecting minors, or those which regu
Six, I would commend to our Whig friends The shooting slaves in the mountains of Pennthe example of the gentleman from the old sylvania, the inhuman murder of a fugitive in 'Father, thy will be done.'

he will do, than I have for members who refuse to speak, but cast their votes and exert their influence to maintain this slave trade. I premen on this side of the Hall speak as boldly as

of this body. We have the power to stop this flood of human gore. But, while these victims dence. toil in chains, and sigh and weep under the tortures to which our law consigns them, members here refuse to examine this subject, refuse to permit the introduction of a bill to repeal this law; but they stand here and exert their utmost powers to revive, to galvanize into life, the old party issues on which they have here-tofore contended. They endeavor to close their flicts, which have no higher motive or aim than to secure the spoils of office to one or the other political party. I judge not for others, but so far as I am myself concerned, I should feel far less guilt were I to strike a stiletto to the heart of a single victim, than I should to exert my influence to sustain that slave trade, or than I should were I to sit here in silence and permit that infamous traffic to continue without my solemn protest against it. It is frequently the case, that men and women, apparently doomed commit suicide rather than meet its horrors. All will recollect the story of the father, moththe lives of their own offsprings, and then action continue this slave trade, share in the guilt of these dark and damning iniquities? Does not the blood of those victims stain our garments? And, when we appear at the bar of final retribution, shall we plead this Compromise as a justification for crimes which would strike terror to a savage heart? I am aware that some of my colleagues have pledged themare in favor of supporting this slave trade? I desire a full and fair understanding on this subject. I wish to understand the position of the Whig party of my own State. Will they sustain this coast-wise slave trade, or will they not? or are they to play dark and keep silent? I mean no disrespect to my colleagues of either party. I am solicitous that the people of Ohio

should understand how each of their representatives stands on these questions. The people of the North have been deceived long enough by politicians, who proclaim their they mean by such support. Indeed, gentle-men dare not avow their intention to sustain the slave trade in this District, upon our Southtuting our flag to the protection of a commerce | the principles and the feelings of the peop fic in God's image, as I would to sustain the party appear to think they will have no chance

honorable Secretary of State, I think, will not repeat that gigantic falsehood which he put forth in the Senate on the 7th of March, 1850,

No, Mr. Speaker, I blush for my country, deed, at the time when that attempt to deceive | their honest sentiments. the people of the North was made, it was of our leading newspapers; and if the author And, in view of some men, no candidate is fit uninformed on that point. Slavery also exists | who regard with sentiments of respect the digpress. Indeed, if we can rely upon the public the Secretary of State asserted that slavery

was excluded by God's law. curse of slavery. The soil which, under Mexi- we have left the subject as it was when the can law, had been consecrated to freedom, is Constitution was adopted. And instead of enand men bought and sold, and women made American citizens have by those States been the subjects of purchase and sale, on territory seized and sold into slavery, in plain, direct, conquered by our arms. To sustain the Compromise, is to sustain slavery and the slave are now bowing under the lash; while memtrade in those Territories. To vote for Presi- bers of this body from the same States do not is to vote for slavery, for the slave trade, with its attendant crimes, to continue in those Ter- | legiance to this fugitive law; avowing their

this floor rise and proclaim their intention to that such men have respect for themselves.

this Government has no right to interfere, and with which we cannot interfere, except at the expense of the constitutional rights of the reeding of men and women for market.

But the Compromise embraces also the slave who hold that it is our duty to maintain the trade upon our Southern coast. All are aware Compromise, to lend our influence to the support of slavery and of the slave trade, come forth, and say so manfully, as becomes men certain regulations,) slaves from one port of the United States to another, under the flag of our Union. Men, women, and children, are purtue to the people; it is due to ourselves. We have Union. Men, women, and children, are purchased in this District, and in the Northern been pained at exhibitions of tergiversations slave States, and placed on board these slave here; at the exposure of gentlemen who hold ships and carried to the torture and premature deaths, which, it is well known, await them when they once get here, turn round and upon the cotton and sugar plantations. There they are murdered under a slow torture by the cuse for this deception. If our constituents they are murdered under a slow torture by the lash of inhuman overseers. It is estimated that twenty thousand human victims are thus and boldly. If they wish us to maintain the annually sacrificed to Southern barbarity. The blood of those victims rests upon the members resign our seats in this body; but let us not deceive those who honor us with their confi-

Again, sir, by maintaining the Compromise, we shall uphold the fugitive law, with all its infamous and unconstitutional provisions. The constitutional provisions in regard to fugitives from labor have been so often argued by me, that I will not, on the present occasion, repeat my views. I will only say that a proposition to involve the people of the free States in the eyes to notorious facts, and soothe their con- expense and disgrace of arresting and imprisonsciences by occupying their own attention, and that of others, upon the miserable party contion that framed the Constitution; that the proposal was objected to; and so strong were the objections, that the member who offered it withdrew it, not daring to take a vote of the occasion no member expressed the opinion that the people of the free States were bound the framers of that instrument to do no more than to secure to the master the same right to pursue and capture his slave in a free State. that he possessed to pursue and capture his horse or mule. That the latter part of this provision, which says "he shall be delivered up on claim of the person to whom such ser-vice or labor may be due," renders it our duty to deliver up the slave, as we deliver up the stray horse or mule, on claim of the owner. who sit in this Hall, and by our silence and in- We are not to obstruct the master in reclaiming him. This was the view expressed by the Supreme Court, in the case of Prigg vs. the

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. This is perfectly consistent with the views of the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. Ran-TOUL,] who, I think, has taken the ground entertained at the time the Constitution was adopted by the people in their several State Conventions. But, for the sake of the argument, I will go beyond him, and admit that Congress possesses the right to legislate so far as to secure the owner in the exercise of this right; that we may, by legislation, punish any person who interferes with that privilege, either by making such interference penal, or giving a compensation to the owner. This was the view evidently entertained by the Congress of 1793. They endeavored to effect this object; but there they stopped. They made no attempt to involve this Government, or the people of the free

back to bondage.

Here, sir, at this precise point, I take issue upon the constitutionality of that portion of the law of 1850 which imposes upon this Government the burden, expense, and disgrace, of chasing down the flying bondman, and sending

him back in chains.

Those portions of the law which authorize ern coast, and in our Territories, and to maintain the infamous fugitive slave law. It was a truism uttered by my Lord Coke, when he said, "fraud lurketh in generalities." This general expression in favor of sustaining the Comprosion in favor of sustaining the mise embraces all these iniquities; and when a man, either here or elsewhere, avows himself in favor of the Compromise measures, he, in substance and fact, avows himself in favor of

Mr. Chairman, it has pleased certain gentlemen, on various occasions, to allude to myself vocation, by upholding the law which author- and my political friends as opposed to the Conizes him to pursue it. I would as soon vote for Williams, the slave dealer and owner of yonder on this point. They will not meet our arguments on this point. for any man who sustains him in his execrable | charges, carefully avoiding every specific point. To sustain the Compromise is to sustain commerce. Yet, sir, strange as it may seem, I now repeat, that to the full extent to which your Presidential candidates of the Democratic the law of 1850 involves this Government, its officers, and the people of the free States, in the

And, sir, I here desire to understand if there be a member from Ohio, or from any free State east of it, who denies this position? ments. I wish to be understood, and there-fore repeat, that the support of the Compro-longer uncertainty. The official returns from self are bound to participate in the expense and Utah show that slavery exists there. Servile crime of chasing slaves? If so, I desire that he politicians can no longer deny the fact. The will announce the fact. I long to find one such

when he asserted that slavery was "excluded when her representatives take shelter behind

If gentlemen intend to support the Comproknown here and throughout the country that mise, they must of course intend to chase down slavery existed in Utah. The fact had been the trembling female, as she flees from the inof that declaration was ignorant of the fact, I for President, or other office, unless he is wilthink he was the only member of Congress ling thus to degrade himself in view of those

Mr. Chairman, we are under neither moral press, a Judge of New Mexico was lately en-gaged in purchasing slaves in this city to work the silver mines of that country, from which | Constitution provides that "the citizens of each | State shall enjoy all the privileges and immuties of citizens of the several States." Now, sir. Now, if the Compromise be sustained, then instead of carrying out this provision of the and palpable violation of the Constitution, and dential candidates who uphold the Compromise, even refer to such outrages upon liberty and county and State elections, our elections of humanity, but are eager to rise and swear alreadiness to chase down a fellow being who Legislatures and of Congress. Europe sym-Mr. Chairman, when I hear members on seeks an asylum from oppression. How long will the people tolerate such callousness, such

Mr. Chairman, for sixty years this construcand in the Territories; and to maintain the tion of the Constitution which I have expressslave trade, with all its crimes and frightful ed has been acknowledged and observed. Durand on our Southern coast. If gentlemen horrent doctrine of subjecting the laboring men mean anything by their declarations, they of the North to the disgrace of catching slaves. is settled, they intend to be understood by and coming ages will read it. This law which Southern men as giving their influence in favor takes from the laboring men of the North a wherever they now exist under the laws of the Federal Government. I desire the people of the North to understand them. I rose to speak for this purpose. I ever have been, am now, this law, they are involved in supporting an indeception and double-dealing. I desire to see gentlemen maintain their opinions at home and in this Hall. I have no respect for that man who will hold one set of doctrines before the people at home, and then lend his influence to overthrow them in this Hall. The people have no respect for such men; nor do I believe of their rights and the rights of humanity. that such men have respect for themeelves.

Mr. Chairman, who that held a seat in this Hall during the last and present Congress, could listen to the gentleman from Massachu- and write essays, to convince our people that it tetts, [Mr. RANTOUL,] who spoke so frankly is their duty to uphold the slave trade and the honorable member from the same State, who, Christians to commit crimes against God and slave question. I care nothing for political ifestation of the popular mind at Syracuse, the and then to ask for it in Jesus' name, trusting names. The people will look at the man, and merited death of Gorsuch at Christiana, should to his promise that it would be given to them. compare him with the servile. All men, of teach the advocates of the fugitive law, and of At the end of the service, the little boy asked

Indiana, as stated in the public papers, could not fail to be followed by the resistance to which I have referred.

The slaves, as already stated, are to increase: the number of fugitives will of course increase more rapidly. Our railroads, steamboats, and the vast increase of intercommunication between our free and slave States, cannot fail to carry knowledge and intelligence to the whole colored population, North and South. With them there must be hostility and hatred to-wards their oppressors, whether they be slave-holders, or the allies of slavery. It is a law of the human mind. All honest men must unite in the acknowledgment of their rights. It is our duty to carry intelligence to every being who bears the image of our Creator. Thousands of agencies are at work, bearing information to the oppressed and down-trodden of our By an inscrutable law which pervades the

moral world, our very efforts to sustain slavery are converted into the means of its overthrow. The slave trade in this District is upheld for the purpose of sustaining slavery in our Southern States. But where is the reflecting man, who does not see that every slave sold from this city carries with him intelligence of his rights, and becomes a missionary of freedom when transferred South? Why, sir, in that mournful procession of fifty-two victims of this infamous commerce, taken from this city in 1848, was an individual of unusual intellect. His name was Edmonson. He called on me at different times to aid him in raising money to redeem his sisters. They were, however, sold and subsequently repurchased by some benevo lent people at the East, and are now free. am told that his whole family were endowed Convention. We are all aware that on that with intellects of the highest order. He was himself, so far as propriety of language, gen tlemanly deportment, and intelligence, are conby that instrument, or by any moral or political principle, to participate in the expense or the disgrace of capturing fugitive slaves. We know, historically, that it was the intention of the minds of Southern slaves for that work which lies before them; a work which, if not accomplished by the voice of truth and justice will be perfected in blood. That, too, is the case with every fugitive slave who is returned to bondage. The whole Northern slave population are becoming intelligent. They read, or hear read, the discussions of our Northern press. They learn what is said in this Hall. The remarks I am now making will reach the ears of many thousands who are borne down by oppression. To them I say, "All men are created equal;" "you are endowed by your Creator with an inalienable right to liberty;" and I add the words of one of Virginia's noblest sons, "GIVE ME LIBERTY, OR GIVE ME DEATH."
Mr. Chairman, the day of redemption for this people must come. No human power can

prevent it. All reason, philosophy, and history, demonstrate the approach of that day. Look at the British West Indies. There the Africans for centuries labored under the courge; they clanked their chains; they toiled and wept under the hand of oppression. But they increased in numbers, as do the slaves of our Southern States. Their oppressors became enervated by indolence and luxury, while the slaves increased in numbers, in knowledge, and in power, precisely as do the slaves of this land, sareastically called a land of freedom. They became an expense to their Government States, in the burdens, expense, and disgrace, of catching and sending the trembling fugitive does, until the Government had no other course than to purchase them and set them free. The same result is intended by those who now advocate the Compromise, which is nothing more nor less than an attempt to throw the burden of sustaining slavery upon this Federal Government. As was well remarked by the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. RANTOUL,] it s a Federal measure, a centralizing measure calculated to concentrate power in this Government, and to destroy the influence of the States. The plan has often been hinted, and this day it is more than hinted, in the leading organ of the Administration of this the suffering, which now render the English peasantry the subjects of pity throughout the civilized world. The Compromise is but the incipient step to this final consummation. If we are now willing to subject the funds of the nation to sustain this institution, if we silently submit to this Compromise, I assert, without hesitation, that a proposition to relieve our-selves from this burden, by the purchase of the slaves of the nation, will be made within the next five years. I therefore say to the laboring men of the North, of all parties, your constitutional rights, your liberties, are in danger.
To pay \$1,200,000,000 would, however, be far less degrading to the Northern character than

this fugitive law. Sir, gentlemen here strive to get up old party ssues. Who does not know that those issues have become obsolete; that they cannot be galvanized into life? Who now contends for a National Bank? Who opposes the sub-treas-ury? These issues have been surrendered by the Whigs. The Democratic party no longer contends against harbor and river improve ments. There will be no more proceeds of the public lands to divide among the States. There is no longer any issue of principle in regard to The Whigs ask no more, than that the revenue to sustain Government shall be raised by a tariff of duties, so adjusted as best to promote the interests of our own labor. To this the whole Democratic party of the North assent. There is no longer any party who goes for free trade-for supporting Government by direct taxation. I would myself be willing to try this method, as it would soon abolish the slavery of the South; but no political party is in favor of that system; all agree upon the principles of a tariff, but differ as to the amount which shall be assessed on various ar-

been unable to arrange themselves upon any issue, whether it be the tariff, or any other of the old questions which divided Whigs and Democrats. Nor can those issues ever again become interesting. They have become obsolete by force of circumstances. While these issues have been fading away, the great and overshadowing questions of humanity have been increasing, strengthening, and extending throughout the nation. It has entered into all our moral and political questions. It is discussed in our social circles, our political conventions, and our pulpits. It controls our members of Congress, and our Presidential elections. It occupies the attention of our State pathizes with us in this great work. The tion of a man's right to his life and liberty now occupies the attention of the civilized world. It has thrown Europe into commotion. Her people, her statesmen, are discussing it It has taken an undying grasp upon the conscience, the judgment of this people. The agitation will go on, until this Government shall be redeemed and regenerated from oppression, until the stain of slavery shall be wiped from

our national escutcheon.

Let me assure gentlemen that a noble band of patriots, of philanthropists, are now laboring to bring about this "consummation so devoutly party. Our contest is waged against oppres sion in all its forms-against tyranny usurpation. Nor will we cease our warfare, until victory, rendered glorious by results that will reach forward to man's remotest existence. shall crown our toils-

[Here the hammer fell.]

A STORY FOR LITTLE CHILDREN.-There was once a little boy, who heard one Sunday a clergyman preach. The text which the clergy-

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS. THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS-FIRST SESSION.

> SENATE. TUESDAY, MARCH 23.

After several other petitions and reports, Mr. Dodge presented the petition of numerous citizens of Washington, praying a change of the city charter, so as to have all officers of the corporation elective.

A bill amending existing laws, so as to enable Territorial judges and other officers to draw their salary, notwithstanding their absence from the Territories, provided that absence be with the approval of the President, was taken up, and, after discussion, was ordered to a third

reading.

The bill providing for the establishment of a dry dock and navy yard on the bay of San Francisco was then taken up. Mr. Gwin addressed the Senate in defence of the bill, and Mr. Brodhead commenced a reply, but before concluding he yielded the floor, and the Senate adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24

Mr. Sumner presented petitions in favor of cheap ocean postage. Messrs, Bradbury and Soulé presented petitions in favor of the extension of further aid to

the Collins line. Mr. Gwin said it was unnecessary to refer the petitions, as the Committee had agreed to

report a uill.

Mr. Borland submitted a resolution calling apon the President to communicate a variety of information concerning the plan, materials. contracts, &c., for the extension of the Capitol He defended himself from certain remarks by the Republic, upon his course in relation to the

After some remarks by Mr. Badger, the resolution was agreed to. The Senate then proceeded to the considera-

ation of the bill to establish a navy yard and naval depot at San Francisco, when

Mr. Brodhead resumed his remarks in reply to Mr. Gwin.

The bill was further discussed by Messrs. Badger, Gwin, and others; after which, the amendment offered by Mr. Badger to that re-ported by the committee was agreed to. Sev-eral other unimportant amendments were made, and the amendment of the committee agreed to. The bill was then reported to the Senate, and all the amendments concurred in.
Mr. Brodhead then offered a substitute for

The question several times reverted to the amendment of Mr. Marshall, of Kentucky, to reduce the subsistence in kind, amounting to \$279,000, and the amount required for the pay of five companies of Texas mounted volunteers, being \$80,711; making in the aggregate \$359,000, to \$100,000; but without the Committee being able to arrive at a vote, and at twenty minutes past three, the Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24.

The House went into Committee, and again took up the Deficiency bill. Mr. Gorman, of Indiana, moved to strike out the sum of \$75,000 for subsistence, and to substitute \$3,000; and, in reply to the remarks of Mr. Houston yesterday, stated that the law upon which that gentleman relied, for making the transfer alluded to, only sanctioned a trans-

fer when there was a surplus in hand. Mr. Evans, of Maryland, said he had a proposition to make to the other side of the House, which was, instead of voting to support the army, and then cavilling about granting the supplies, to bring in a bill reducing the army and navy, and abolishing the forage.

The appropriation was then passed, when the next appropriation of \$80,741, for pay of five companies of Texas mounted volunteers, came up. Mr. Brooks moved to strike out the

item, it not being to meet any deficiency. Mr. Howard, of Texas, explained that it was to pay volunteers who had served out their time, and for which no appropriation had been

Discussion took place on the section appropriating \$12,000 to complete the improvements on the square south of the President's house. The motion was passed with an amendment. requiring a contract to be entered into, with good and sufficient security.

Mr. Stanton renewed his amendment, appro priating \$1,500 for the casual repairs of the Capitol; which was agreed to as a separate

He then moved resolutions pursuant to instructions from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds: two of which were \$2,500 for the removal of the green-house, and \$10,000 for the repairs of the Potomae bridge, which it was understood would cost \$2,000-all of which were rejected.

Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, moved a section appropriating a sum to be paid to the Seneca Indians, to replace the amount of which they had been defrauded by an agent. Pending the discussion, the Committee rose. and the House adjourned.

THURSDAY, MARCH 25. On motion of Mr. Houston, the House went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and resumed the consideration of

The Committee agreed to an amendment to pay the Seneca Indians, in the State of New York, \$28,500, for moneys wrongfully withheld from them by an unjust agent; and the Secretary of the Interior is required, upon the payment of the money, to take steps to enable the

United States to recover the amount due from aid agent. The bill was considered until half past three o'clock. Various amendments were proposed and debated, under the five minutes' rule without coming to any vote on the bill, the Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

MANHATTAN QUARTZ MINING COMPANY: Capital Stock, \$150,000; Shares, \$100 eachlocated in Grass Valley, the focus of Quartz Mining in California; chartered for Fifty Years, under Incorporation Act of California; Office, No. 208 Broadway, New York city.

TRUSTEES. JOHN A. COLLINS. HARRISON SCOTT.
JOHN COOK, Ja. WILLIAM C. CROSETT.
HORACE GREELEY.

LOCATION AND CLAIMS. LOCATION AND CLAIMS.

THE principal "CLAIMS" of the Company are upon "Mantattan" and "Willow" Hills; it has also valuable possessions upon "Gold," 'St Lawrence" "Laurel," Chestant," and "Osburn" Hills—a total of 64 lots, 28, of which are 100 feet each upon the vein, with all its aips and angles: 24 c alims, 100 feet square; 8 claims, 60 feet square; and 6 claims, 30 by 40 feet—all of which are of an average ricaless, at least, of Grass Valley gold-bearing Quartz

TITLE.

The titles to these veins are of two classes. One is derived from Mexican grants, embracing tracts of several leagues; and the other, which is nearly universal, by settlement and occupation upon the public domain of the United States. The first class of titles is disregarded by the nuners, but the latter claims universal confidence and respect, and by the last session of the Legislature of Uniformia was legalized. The statutes provided that in all cases of trespass upon miners' claims, a Justice of the Peace shall have jurisdiction, and is required to award his decision in accordance

ties. For individuals and companies they are regarded as equal to a fee simple. So great is the confidence in them that claims valued at thousands of dollars are constantly changing hands. It is safe to say that not one hundred suits have grown out of conflicting claims since the first discovery of gold in California.

suits have grown out of conflicting claims since the first discovery of gold in California.

GRASS VALLEY CUARTZ.

As the operations of the Company are located in Grass Valley, it may not be out of place to g ve the reader an approximate idea of the general average of the quartz rock in this particular region. In soliciting testimony upon this point, we shall summon upon the stand as witnesses a few from the many who are or have been practically engaged in quartz mining in this place. The President of this Company, from long experience, is of the opinion that the great mass of this quartz will average, by the present mill operation, two cents to the pound, or \$4 per ton. The quartz orushed at the mill of the Grass Valley Quartz Wilning Company, formerly John A. Collins & Co., has ranged from one to eight cents a pound, or from \$20 to \$160 a ton. At this mill, the average yield has been acout three and a half cents to the pound, or \$70 a ton. Most of this rock however, was from "Daisey," "Gold," and "Usburn" Hills—among the richest veins now worked

Hon James Walsh, Sanator from Nevada county, and proprietor of a large quartz mill, in writing upon this subject, says:

"The rock (from which all the richest portions have been

prietor of a large quartz mill, in writing upon this subject, says:

"The rock (from which all the richest portions have been culled) has paid as low as \$20 per ton, and as high as \$120 per ton. The quartz is paying better now than at first. *

* * I think the average of the quartz in this vicinity will be found to be about \$40 per ton."

"The rock on that (Gold) Hill, after taking out specimens enough to pay for working the hill and excavating the rock, will, beyond doubt, pay an assay of five cents per pound. The quantity of gold bearing quartz in this (Grass Valley) district, it is impossible for any one to estimate. * *

Even with high labor, imperfect modes of quarrying, and very inefficient machinery, the mills are making money."

James Hough, a heavy quartz operator, writing on this subject, under date of July 25, 1851, says:

James Hough, a heavy quartz operator, writing on this subject, under date of July 25, 1821; says:

"Up to the present time, I have quarried some fourteen hundred tons of rock, have had in my employ from eight to twelve men daily, and have more than paid my entire expenses by crushing with a hand mortar the richest portions of the rock, paying wages at the rate of three or four dollars a day, with board. By this hand operation I have crushed quartz yielding as high as eighty-six dollars to the pound, and little, it any, less than three dollars."

"After these specimens' have been carefully culled from the whole mass of the rock by breaking it up into small pieces, the smallest yield of the remainder, when crushed and amalgamated at the mill, has been \$30 per ton, and the largest that has come under my observation as high as \$140. In my opinion, \$70 would be a fair average of each ton of rock."

Prof. Blake, a man of science, and thoroughly acquainted

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of Executive business, and shortly after adjourned.

Thursday, March 25.

Mr. Fish presented three memorials, which he said were respectably signed by citizens of New York, connected with all the political parties, praying that Congress will stand firmly by the principles of Washington, as embodied in his Farewell Address, with respect to foreign affairs, and not yield to the dangerous doctrines of Kossuth.

On motion of Mr. Fish, the memorials were laid on the table, a committee of the Senate having the subject before them.

On motion, the Senate took up and adopted the resolution heretofore submitted by Mr. Summer, calling upon the Postmaster General for a great variety of information connected with his Department. Also, the resolution heretofore introduced by Mr. Weller, calling of information with regard to certain charges against the Mexican Boundary Commissioner.

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of Executive Bake, a man of science, and thoroughly acquainted with this subject, writes:

"In Grass Valley, very rich quartz has been found. In many specimens that I have seen, the quartz might have been said to have been literally inbedied in the gold, rather than the gold in the quartz. ** * * There can be not doubt, also, that quartz, in which no gold is visible to the naked eye, often concains a considerable portion. I have seen said to have been literally inbedied in the gold, rather than the gold in the quartz in might have been asside to the naked eye, often concains a considerable portion. I have seen that I have seen, the quartz might have seen, the quart might have seen, the quartz mig

No 6 do 12 do. 896 do. do.

Dr. Huddart remarked that Nos. 1, 2, and 6, showed no signs of gold whatever to the naked eye, previous to smelting; Nos. 3, 4, and 5, showed gold in spots, but were by no means what would be called picked specimens.

The above calculations are based upon the value of gold at 316 per cance. In giving the dollars to the ton, the cents are omitted.

are omitted.

THE MACHINERY will be similar to that employed by the Grass Va ley Quartz Mining Company, formerly owned by John A. Collins & Co. This style of machinery has been thoroughly and successfully tested. It will accomplish the same amount of labor with the employment of half less power than any other style of machinery that has come under our observation.

Mr. Brodhead then offered a substitute for the bill, providing in substance for the construction of a pier, in the place of a basin and railway; pending which,

The Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, MARCH 23.

The House again resolved itself into a Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and again took up the Deficiency bill, when various amendments were submitted, reducing the appropriation for the subsistence of the army, which were supported by different speakers, and opposed by Messrs. Venable, Stanly, Evans, and others. The discussion was a mere repetition of what was advanced yesterday.

The question several times reverted to the amendment of Mr. Marshall, of Kentucky, to

J. L. CROSETT, Esq.

I have been running with Mr. Willets, as engineer, some two months, and fully concur in the above. MOSES L. REMENTON. The Nevada Journal, under the date of November 8, 185

speaks of this mill as follows :

The California Express, under date of November 1 1851, speaking of this mill, remarks:

"Among the most efficient mills now running, are those of Legrave & Co, John A. Collins & Co., and Mr. Waish. The first runs is stamps, and the last two, ill each. The stamps of the first are only six inches equare on the face, and those of Collins & Co. are eight and fourteen inches—more than three times as large, and their mortars are correspondingly large. The consequence is, this mill will crush considerably more than any in this valley."

more than any in this valley."

James Delevan, Secretary of a Company that is constructa large mill in Grass Valley, writes:

"This mill and veins (Collins and Company's) have an
excellent reputation in this community. I regard it one of
the best and most efficient in this section."

Captain E. Wilson, long engaged in mining, in speaking

"I have no hesitation in saying that I believe it one of the most efficient for reducing rock and saving gold, in operation. This I believe is the opinion of every judge working in the Valey!" tion. This i delieve is the opinion of the Valley."

An intelligent writer in the California Courier bases a calculation of the operations of a mill, erusting 100 tons daily, at one cent per pound, as follows, to wit:

Expenses quarrying crushing, &c - \$1,100 100 tons at \$20, or one cent a pound - 2,000

Profits

An addition of one mill per pound will add \$200 a day, or \$60,000 a year of 300 days; at two cents per pound, would produce a profit in one year of \$970,000.

Two cents is the lowest average made for culled quartz, even by any of the Grass Valley quartz miners. With most of the Trustees of this Company, quartz mining is sone-thing more than mere theory. Four of them have been practically engaged in this business. Two of the Trustees are now in trass Valley, looking after the interest of this Company, At the very lowest est inates, the profit is enormously large. Many mills, small and imperiect as they have been, are paying good dividends.

The mill of the Grass Valley Quartz Mining Company, formerly under the direction of the Precident of this Company and the repaying good dividends.

The mill of the Grass Valley Quartz Mining Company, formerly under the direction of the Precident of this Company, and tis original cost it sixty days, and since, it has paid large profits, no withstanding it has been three times remodeled, improved, and enlarged.

A letter published in the Atta California, in referring to the Companies working in the Mariposa mines, says:

"Three others I heard of, have divided—one 10, one 11, and one 15 per cent. per month on their capitals."

The Gold Hill Quartz Mining Company, of Grass Valley, on the 10th hast., declared a dividend of ten per cent. on their capital.

Facts and estimates as to what has been, and what may

their capital.

Facts and estimates as to what has been, and what may

THE EXTENT OF THE WORKS.

For the amount named at the commencement of this article, the hitherto proprietors of the gold-bearing localitis a forcesaid contract with the company to sell and transfer the said property, and to erect thereon, at the earliest possible day, the necessary buildings and machinery adequate to the reduction of 100 tons of quartz per day of 24 hours, as follows, viz:

The mill will consist of 36 stamps, after the pattern of John A. Collin's & Company's mill, with a few important improvements, and playing in six batteries of six stamps each—amalgamators adequate to detect the gold as fast as the ore is pulverized—an engine of sufficient power to drive all this machinery, and an additional power of ten horse, to m ve machinery to reduce the tailings, or the ore after it has passed through amalgamators, when such improvements shall have been discovered. The buildings will consist of a stamp house, 30 by 50; amalgamating house 30 by 40 feet; an engine house, 20 by 30 feet; shop for milwright and blacksmith, 29 by 30 feet; dwelling, 20 by 40 feet; office, 15 by 20 feet; and wood-house, 40 by 50 feet.

They farthermore agree 10 give their own time, experience, and labor, to promote the inherests of the company, according to their best judgm at, up to the time the engagements above appecified shall have been fully performed, and the works of the company completed and running in perfect order.

HOR ACE GREELEY, Tressurer and Secretary.

The parafficients are conventions and facts are and secretary and the secretary and the trest of the containing the charter of this Company.

Pamphlets containing the charter of this Company and the laws of California upon corporations, and facts con cerning Quartz and Quartz Mining, can be had by address ing, post paid, and enclosing two postage stamps, JOHN A

stock can be procured, by sending as above, post paid, Bank March 11-3t

JOHN A. COLLINS, President.